THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND AND NORMANDY.

BY

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,

AND THE INTRODUCTION OF GUIZOT,

By THOMAS FORESTER, M.A.

VOL. IV.

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EDITOR'S NOTICE.

THE publication by the *Société de l'Histoire de France* of their last volume of Ordericus Vitalis has at length enabled me to complete the translation from their accurate text. The delay is the less to be regretted, as it has afforded me an opportunity of presenting the English reader with a valuable *Notice*, not only containing a review of the life, character, and writings of the monk of St. Evroult (which had, indeed, been somewhat anticipated by the paper of M. Guizot, given as an Introduction to this edition), but also supplying details of the studies and sciences cultivated in the Middle Ages, and their literary history.

This *Notice* is from the pen of M. Leopold Delisle, a gentleman attached to the Imperial Library at Paris, on whom the duties of editor devolved when M. Le Prevost was compelled, by loss of sight, to relinquish a task to which he had devoted a considerable portion of his life. And here I may be permitted to express my acknowledgments to both these gentlemen for valuable services rendered me in the course of my own undertaking.

Following the steps of the French editors, I have given a place at the end of the History to the "Chronicle of St. Evroult." It not only formed the basis of numerous facts narrated by Ordericus, but some of the entries appear to have been made in his own hand; and it is besides interesting, as being continued for more than three centuries after his death.

A Chronological Index is appended, to compensate in some degree for the desultory manner in which the author has brought together times separated by long intervals, as well as places and subjects the most distant and incongruous.

The General Index has been compiled, with the same object, on a plan more than usually comprehensive. Copious, however, as it is, it will convey but an imperfect idea of the prodigious mass of minute circumstances collected in the work. "No book," observes M. Guizot, "contains so much and such valuable information on the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on the political state, both civil and religious, of society in the West of Europe, and on the manners of the times, whether feudal, monastic, or popular."

T. F.

January 25th, 1856.

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REMARKS

ON THE LIFE, CHARACTER, WORK, AND TIMES

OF

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

BY M. LEOPOLD DELISLE.

Ordericus Vitalis was one of the first authors whose works the *Societé de l'Histoire de France* resolved on publishing: the choice was determined as much by the importance of the work as by the rarity of former editions, and their manifold imperfections. Its wisdom was still more confirmed when a scholar of distinguished reputation offered to undertake the duties of editor.

The society has had no reason to repent its decision: from the first, the public duly appreciated the value of the text as settled by M. Le Prevost, with the active assistance of M. Guérard, his friend and fellow member of learned nstitutions, who has been unhappily taken from us before ne could witness the completion of an enterprise in which he felt the same interest as he did in his own works. Especial notice was also taken of the valuable comments, in which the editor, by the aid of documents often known only to himself, threw light on obscure passages in the text, and touched with great originality on the most difficult points in the chronology, the history, and the geography, of the Middle Ages.

After twenty years of persevering industry, M. Le Prevost had nearly accomplished his task, when he found himself under the painful necessity of relinquishing studies which had been the delight and the glory of his life. Little remained for him to do, except to compose an introduction, in

which, no doubt, the public would have recognized the well-known talents of the author of the *Pouillé de Lisieux*, of the *Dissertations* on the *Heart of St. Louis*, of *Notes on the Communes of the Department of the Eure*, of the *History of St. Martin du Tilleul*, and of so many memoirs, written with equal learning, spirit, and elegance.

It was under these circumstances that M. Le Prevost thought fit to entrust the publication of the fifth, and last, volume of Ordericus to one of his friends, a native of Normandy, like himself, who esteems it an honour to call himself the disciple of such a master. Though fully alive to the peculiar delicacy of the task assigned me, I felt it my duty not to shrink from the effort to justify this mark of confidence. The public, however, will, I trust, grant me some indulgence; and, while perusing a *notice* for the composition of which I had no opportunity of much previous preparation, will kindly lay aside all thought of the remarkable piece of historical and literary criticism which we might have had from the pen of M. Le Prevost, employed on such a subject.

After describing the literary activity which prevailed in the abbey of St. Evroult during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I shall give some account of the life and character, the tastes and habits, of Ordericus Vitalis, of the plan of his history, the periods at which his work was composed, and the different ways in which it was divided. An effort will also be made to supply the loss of a part which is wanting in the seventh book. I shall state the grounds on which Ordericus is entitled to rank so highly among the writers of the Middle Ages; and show, in contrast, the state of oblivion into which his work has long fallen. I shall attempt to determine the chronological system pursued by the author, and to discover what productions of former writers he placed under contribution. My task will terminate with a catalogue of the manuscripts, editions, and translations of the Ecclesiastical History now existing.

I.

THE STUDIES PURSUED AT THE ABBEY OF ST. EVROULT.

Founded in 1050, on the ruins of a Merovingian monastery, the abbey of St. Evroult, a name indelibly associated with recollections of Ordericus Vitalis, was one of the principal sources of that light which shone with so much brilliance on Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most of the abbots on whom the administration of the affairs of that house devolved were no less zealous in augmenting its revenues, than in developing a taste for studious pursuits among its members.

Thierri de Mathonville, a monk of Jumiéges, to whom, in 1050, the organization of the new abbey was intrusted, drew around him numerous disciples. He it was who laid the foundation of the library, the relics of which we still view with admiration. By way of example, he copied with his own hand a compilation of collects, a gradual, and an antiphonary.[2] He had several books of the Bible, a missal, and some of the works of St. Jerome and St. Gregory, transcribed by his nephew, Ralph, his companion Hugh, and a priest named Roger.[3] Many excellent copyists were formed in his school; among whom are mentioned Berenger, afterwards bishop of Venosa, Joscelin, Ralph, Bernard, Turquetil, and Richard; who enriched the library of St. Evroult with the works of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, Isidore, Eusebius, and Orosius.[4] To encourage the industry of his scribes, he often related to them the story of a monk who was saved, they say, for having copied a ponderous volume. When he stood before the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge, the number of offences he had committed was reckoned on one side of his account, and the sum total of the letters he had traced was counted on the other. The last exceeded the first by a single unit, and that turned the scale on the side of mercy.[5]

Osberne, one of Thierri's successors, employed his leisure hours in the fabrication of implements for writing and preparing tablets of wax.[6] In his time flourished William Gregory, whose transcripts and illuminations were long

[1] Vol. i. 386, 388.
[2] Vol. i. 406.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Vol. i. 406, 407, 435.
[5] Vol. i. 407.
[6] Vol. i. 442.

admired as *chefs-d'œuvre*,[1] Robert André, a superior penman, and Bernard Matthew, to whom Ordericus gives the character of "an eminent antiquarian."

In the course of time the rising library was enriched by various acquisitions. William de Brétueil made an offering of the text of the Evangelists, ornamented with gold, silver, and jewels:[2] Robert de Grentemesnil presented a large psalter, embellished with paintings, which Queen Emma had sent from England to Robert, archbishop of Rouen.[3] Other manuscripts crossed the channel, and were placed on the shelves of the library of St. Evroult. Among these was a psalter, which, at a later period, came into the possession of the monks of St. Ouen.[4] There were also a calendar,[5] and a benedictionaire, some considerable fragments of which are still preserved,[6] exhibiting, in a manner not to be mistaken, the characters of the Anglo-Saxon writing.

About the middle of the twelfth century, a short catalogue was compiled of the books at that time in the library of the monastery, of which the text is here given.

[1] Vol. i. 428, 429.

[2] Vol. ii. 191.

[3] Vol. i. 401, 402.

[4] This manuscript which is now in the Library of Rouen (No. 307, 391), contains, besides the psalter, a terier of the revenues of St. Evroult; a letter of Gregory IX. (April 17, 1230); a letter of Philip Augustus on patronages (Oct. 1207); several odes of Horace; some prayers; and an account of the possessions given by Baldwin de St. Lambert. The Benedictines consider this MS. to be of the seventh or eighth century.

[5] At the end of a MS. in the Imperial Library, which will be again referred to.

[6] They are contained in a manuscript of 156 leaves in small folio, written on parchment, partly in England, partly at St. Evroult, in the twelfth century. It contains no less than thirty-three separate articles, most of which are lives and passions of saints. Among them are a life of St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and some hymns and masses to his honour. There is also a diploma of Charles the Simple in favour of St. Evroult, October 31, 900, discovered at Orleans by abbot Robert (1059—1061) who immediately had it transcribed by "the monk Joscelin, an excellent penman." It is printed by Mabillon, Martene, and Bouquet. The volume also contains two books of St. Chrysostom, *De Compunctione*.

M. Delisle remarks that in several parts of this volume he has recognized, without the least hesitation, the same hand as that by which the oldest manuscript of Ordericus was written. It also contains some curious paintings. For exact details of the contents of this volume, and of the manuscripts referred to throughout this *notice*, the notes to the original prefixed to the fifth volume of Ordericus Vitalis (Paris, 1855) may be consulted.

THESE ARE THE BOOKS CONTAINED IN THE LIBRARY OF ST. EVROULT:—

Genesis.
The Books of Kings.
Chronicles.
The Book of the Prophets.
The New Testament.
The text of the Evangelists.
An Ecclesiastical History.
The History of Clemens.
The Great Psalter.[1]
Three Antiphonaries.
Three Graduals.
Twelve[2] Trophaires.
Gracianus.
Rabanus on Matthew.
The Sentences of Warin of Séez; with the Sentences of Origen on the Canticles.
The Homilies of William de Merula.
The Apocalypse, by the same.
The Morals of St. Gregory, in three volumes.[3]
His Books of Dialogues.
Mariale.
Abbot Bernard on the Song of Songs.
The Book of Pastorals.
A book of Forty Homilies.
A Register.
A Commentary on Ezechiel.[4]
A catalogue of the Popes; with the New Testament.
Solinus.
Rufinus on the Homilies of Origen.
Augustine on St. John.
Augustine against Faustus.[5]
The Enchiridion of Augustine.
Augustine "De Verbis Domini."

[1] Probably the Anglo-Saxon psalter already mentioned in p. ix.
[2] The words printed in italics were inserted in the catalogue after it was first made.
[3] See Ordericus, vol. i. 406.
[4] Ibid.
[5] See vol. i. 253.

Augustine's Soliloquy.
The first part of the Psalter; the second; the third
Augustine on the Trinity.
Augustine on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount.
Augustine on Christian Doctrine.
Augustine on Confession.
Augustine on the Divination of Demons.
The Sentences of Abbot Warin.
Hubert's Decrees.
His Sentences.
Boethius on Philosophy.[1]
Orosius.[2]
The Rule of St. Basil.
Bede on the Canticles.
Marbodius.
Abbot Bernard on, Gabriel was sent.
Jerom against Jovinian.
Jerom "De Questionibus."[3]
Jerom on the Psalter.
Ambrose on the Sacraments.
Ambrose on Faith.[3]
The Hexameron of Ambrose.[3]
Ambrose on, Blessed are the pure in heart.
Isidore on the Natures of things.
Isidore on the Old Testament.
The Synonyms of Isidore.
Athanasius on the Trinity.
Summum Bonum.
Albricus.
Bede upon Mark.
Bede's Expositions.
The Crown of the Monks.
Ten Collations of Fathers.
A book of Sermons.
The Epistles of Paul.
The Great Passional, which begins at the life of St. Gregory.

[1] This MS. is now in the Library of Alençon.
[2] See Ordericus, vol. i. 407.
[3] There are manuscripts in the Library of Alençon which are probably those here referred to.

Item, another great one, which begins at the life of St. Maur.

An old Passional.
The Life of St. Judoc.[1]
The Life of Hippocrates.
The Life of St. Martin.
His Miracles.
The Life of St. Columban.
The Life of St. Philibert.[2]
The Life of St. Gregory.
The Passion of St. Sebastian.[2]
The Life of St. Maur.
The Miracles of St. Benedict.[2]
Lives of the Fathers.
Paradise.[3]
Two Calendars.
The Rule of St. Benedict.
The Canons.
The Old Text.
The Miracles of St. Stephen.
The Life of St. Elias.
The Old Epistles of St. Paul.
The Life of St. Radegund.
Two volumes on Uses.
Paul's Epistles, with Glosses.
The Life of St. Columban.
Jerom on Daniel.
The Psalter of John the Prior, with a Gloss.
Bede on the Apocalypse.
Bede's History of England.
Bede on Luke.
Haimon on the Epistles of Paul.
The Passion of St. Kilian.[2]
The Passion of St. Eustachius.
Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.
Exposition of the Psalter.
Ambrose on the Benefit of Death.

[1] See Ordericus, vol. i. 472—479.
[2] These entries are erased in the manuscript catalogue.
[3] This book is mentioned again in the catalogue of the Library at Lire. See p. xx.

The Passion of St. Eleutherius.
The Passion of St. Agatha.
Amalarius.[1]
The Life of St. Edmund.
Omnilogus.
Jerom on the Twelve Prophets.
Angelomus.
The Life of St. Leonard, a small volume.
The Books of Josephus's Antiquities, with the Jewish War.[2]
Augustine de Civitate Dei.
The History of the Lombards; with the Acts of the Popes.[3]
Priscian.
The Epistles of Jerom to Augustine.
The Book of Paterius; with the Epistles of Bishop Ivo.[4]
The Sentences of the Lord Abbot Richard.
The Miracles of St. Agil.
Liber Marciani, cum Versibus Offerendarum.
Haimon on Isaiah, with the Book of Augustine on the Harmony of the Evangelists.
A disputation between a Christian and a heathen; with divers prayers.
Origen on the Old Testament.
Jerom on Jeremiah.
Augustine on the Letter of Genesis.
Smaragdus on the Rule of St. Benedict.
Four Volumes of Vitalis.[5]
The Book of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen.
Life of SS. Herluin and Anselm.
The Book of Humphrey the Prior, which begins with the Sentence of Gregory on Easter, with various other Sentences; and the Canticles of Hugh, in one volume.
Liber elucidarii cum diversis sententiis.

This catalogue, particularly when compared with the documents of the same kind and the same age which we pos

[1] Now in the Library of Alençon.
[2] This is possibly the manuscript of Josephus described by M. Travers, *Bulletin Monumental*, 3rd series, i. 126.
[3] Now No. 18 of the Library of Alençon.
[4] Now No. 19 of the Library of Alençon.
[5] The original MS. of our author. See afterwards, § vii. 1.

sess, connected with the cathedral of Rouen[1] and the monasteries of Bec,[2] Fécamp, and Lire,[3] enables us to perceive exactly what were the resources which the libraries of Nor-

[1] Published by M. l'Abbé Langlois, *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques des Archevêques et du Chapitre de Rouen* (Rouen, 1853, 8°). See also *Biblioth. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 3e série, i. 217; and *Mem. de la Societé des Antiq. de Normandie*, 2e série, viii. 42 des Chroniques.

[2] Published from a MS. of the Library at Avranches, by M. Ravaisson. *Rapports*, 375.

[3] I consider it useful to publish these two catalogues. The first is found at the end of the Latin manuscript 1298 in the Imperial Library; the second at the end of MS. 4221 of the same collection. The articles printed in italics were added after the catalogue was first made.

[THE BOOKS OF THE CHURCH OF FECAMP.]

Bibliotheca, in one volume.
Another, in two.
Two Passionaries.
Three Lectionaries.
Augustine on the Epistles of Paul, in a large volume.
Augustine de Civitate Dei.
Augustine de Trinitate.
Augustine on the Psalter, in three large volumes.
Augustine de Moribus Ecclesiæ.
The Epistles of Augustine.
Augustine on Confessions.
Augustine on the Perfection of Justice.
Augustine on . . . .
Augustine against Julian the heretic.
Augustine's Retractations.
Augustine on the Harmony of the Evangelists.
Augustine on Christian Doctrine.
Augustine on John.
Augustine on the Words of our Lord.
Augustine on Genesis.
Augustine on divers questions.
Augustine's Homily on Charity, in leather.
Augustine on the work of the Monks.
Augustine de Moribus Ecclesiæ. (An entry blotted out.)
Jerom's Psalter.
Jerom on Isaiah.
Jerom against Rufinus.
Jerom on Ezekiel.
Jerom on Jeremiah.
Jerom against Jovinian.
Jerom on Mark.
Jerom on Matthew.
Ambrose on Virginity.

mandy afforded to studious men in the twelfth century. Classical antiquity seldom possessed any other representatives in these collections except some poets and grammarians.

The Exposition of Ambrose.
Ambrose on the Benefit of Death.
Ambrose on *Blessed are the pure in heart.*
Jerom on the XII. Prophets.
Ambrose on Luke.
The Hexameron of Ambrose.
Ambrose on the Sacraments.
Isidore on Etymologies, in two places.
Isidore on Genesis.
Hilary on the Trinity.
Hilary on Matthew.
Isidore de Summo Bono.
Origen upon Leviticus.
Origen on the Old Testament.
Origen on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.
The Life of St. Gregory.
Gregory on Ezekiel.
The Homilies of Gregory.
Gregory's Dialogues.
Moralia Job, in two large volumes, and others in two very small ones.
Bede on the Tabernacle.
Bede de Temporibus.
Bede on Mark.
A body of Canons.
The Canons.
Cassiodorus.
Two books of Josephus.
The History of Josephus.
Egesippus.
Haimon on the Epistle of Paul.
Rabanus on Matthew.
The Four Gospels.
Abbot Bernard's exposition of the Canticles.
Alquinus. (Alcuin.)
The book of Effrem.
The book of Numbers.
The Epistles of Cyprian, in two places.
Questions in Hebrew.
Collations of the Fathers.
Athanasius on the Trinity.
Guibert on Genesis.
Amalarius.
Orosius.
The book of Kings.
The book of Clemens.

Of Greek literature we discover nothing but translations of some of the books of Aristotle, and of several treatises on medicine. To gain a knowledge of the sciences and of his-

Noah's Ark.
The Parables of Solomon.
Decrees of the Popes.
The Decrees of Ivo.
The Apocalypse.
A Comment on the Apocalypse.
The Sentences of Master Peter Lombard, in two volumes.
The History of Master Peter Comestor.
Homilies on Quadragesima.
Boethius on the Trinity; two copies.
Solinus.
The Gerarchia of Dionysius.
The Pastoral.
Bernard's Book on Dispensation and Precept.
A Tripartite History.
The Canonical Rule.
The Golden Munth.
Angelomus.
The book of the Æneid, in leather.
The Life of St. Martin, in two places.
Cassiodorus on the Psalter.
The Crown of the Monks.
Buccardus.
The book of Solomon.
A book of Miscellanies.
A book of Anselm's.
Herpericus.
Paradise.
A book of Medicine.
Leviticus.
Brutinarius.
Rabert on Matthew.
The Canons of the Apostles.
Homilies in praise of Paul.
A Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict.
The Life of St. Edward, in verse.
The Homilies of Eusebius.
Ecclesiastical History.
Sermons on St. Mary.
The Apology of Ambrose.
Boethius de Consolatione.
Somnium Scipionis.
A Commentary on the Evangelists, in two volumes.
A large Priscian.
Priscian on the Twelve Verses.

tory, there was nothing to which recourse could be had, but the compilations of ecclesiastical writers. What prevailed most in these deposits, and we still find forming the great-

The Acts of our Saviour.
The Lamentations of Jeremiah.
Job, with a Gloss.
Haymo on Isaiah.
The Life of St. Columban.
The Life of St. Cuthbert, in leather.
The book of Master Hugh on the Sacraments.
Sermons for the whole year, in one volume.
The Calendar of Abbot William.
Gesta Normannorum.
A book on the erection of the church of Fécamp.
Gregory's Register.
The Epistles of Paul, with Glosses, in five parts.
Genesis, with a Gloss, in two parts.
The Four Gospels, with Glosses.
John, with a Gloss.
Matthew, with a Gloss.
Mark, with a Gloss.
Six Psalters, with Glosses.
Augustine on LXX. Questions.
The Epistle of Bernard to Pope Eugenius.
The Life of St. Taurinus.
The Sentences of Master Peter Lombard, in one volume.
Aristotle's Topics, in stamped leather.

THESE BOOKS BELONG TO THE CHURCH OF LIRE.

Of the works of St. Jerom, the following are possessed by this library:

St Jerom says: "Read first my Samuel and Malachi; 'mine,' I say, 'mine;' for whatever we learn and acquire by frequent study and careful improvement is our own." He says that all the books of the Old and New Testament are his, because he translated them into Latin from Hebrew and Greek, word for word, with the greatest care.

These books are preserved in this church, in two volumes called the Library of the Holy Scriptures.

The first volume contains the following books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, the book of Numbers, the book of Joshua, the son of Nun; the book of Judges, the book of Ruth, the IV. books of Kings; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel; the book of the XII. Prophets, namely, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micah, Nahum, Habbakuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi.

The second volume contains: the book of Job, three books of Solomon, namely, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; the book of Wisdom, the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus; the two books of Chronicles, the book of Tobias, the book of Judith, the book of Esther, the book of Esdra, two books of Maccabees, the Psalms of

est portion of the relics, which have been gathered from these scattered treasures, are the works of the Fathers

David. The following are the books of the New Testament—the book of the Acts of the Apostles; the Apocalypse of St. John; VII. Canonical Epistles, namely, James I., Peter II., John III., Jude I.; Paul XIII.; IV. books of the Evangelists, namely, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.

This library does not possess the Psalter which St. Jerom translated from the Hebrew into Latin, word for word, nor the book called "The Shepherd," which is not in the canon.

Jerom on Mark.
The Epistles of Jerom.
The book of Jerom on the Lives of the Holy Fathers.
Jerom's Sermon on the Assumption of St. Mary.
Jerom against Jovinian.
Jerom de Membris Domini.
The Gloss of Abbot Haimon on Genesis, and a Moral Gloss of an uncertain author.
The Gloss of Haimon on Exodus.
The Gloss of Haimon on Leviticus.
The Gloss of Haimon on the book of Numbers.
On Deuteronomy.
On the book of Joshua, the son of Nave.
On the book of Judges.
On the book of Ruth.
On the books of Kings.
On Isaiah.
On Jeremiah.
On Ezekiel.
On Daniel.
On the Twelve Prophets.
On the book of Job.
On the Parables of Solomon.
On Ecclesiastes.
On the Song of Songs.
On the books of Chronicles.
On the book of Esther.
On the book of Esdras.
On the Psalms of David: the marginal Gloss, and running Gloss of Master Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, and the running Gloss of Master Peter, bishop of Paris.
On the book of Wisdom.
On Ecclesiasticus.
On the book of Tobias.
On the book of Judith.
On the books of the Maccabees.
On the Acts of the Apostles.
On the Apocalypse.
On the Seven Canonical Epistles.

of the Latin church, Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, Lives of saints, and Liturgical collections.

One circumstance which adds a peculiar value to the old

On the Fourteen Epistles of Paul, the marginal Gloss and running Gloss of Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, and the running Gloss of Peter, bishop of Paris.

On Matthew, the marginal Gloss and running Gloss of Master Anselm, with another running Gloss.

On Mark.

On Luke.

On John, a marginal and running Gloss.

The Decrees of Gratian.

The Decrees of the Popes.

The book of Rufinus on Ecclesiastical History.

The book of Josephus.

A book of Chronicles.

The Epistles of Ivo, bishop of Chartres.

The Epistles of Hildebert, bishop of Mans.

The Homilies of Eusebius Emesenus to Monks.

The book of Lanfranc, the archbishop, on the Body and Blood of the Lord, against Berenger.

The book of Alberic on Lunar calculations.

The book of Effrem.

The Institutes of St. Basil.

The Crown of the Monks.

The book of St. John the hermit on the Rules of the Monks, and on the Seven principal Vices.

The book of St. John the hermit on the collations of the Fathers.

A book on the natures of beasts.

The book of Paschasius on the Body and Blood of the Lord.

A Harmony of Rules.

Berengaud on the Apocalypse.

The following are contained in a certain volume: the book of St. Turpin of Rheims, showing how Charles conquered Spain; the book of Pope Calixtus on St. James the Apostle; the miracles of St. Paul the Apostle, "et Sanctorum Clari" (*sic*); the Life of St. Leonard the Confessor; the book of St. Heraclides, the bishop, on the Lives of the Holy Fathers, called Paradise; the book of the Lord Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, against Heretics. [*This entry, which perhaps was an addition to the catalogue, seems to refer to a MS. in the Library at Rouen,* Y. 17, 15.]

The volume of Pope St. Anaclete on Provinces and Cities.

The book of Alcuin on Virtues and Vices.

A book in which are contained: Verses on the Psalter, the Commentary of St. Jerom on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, with a marginal Gloss; Master Hugh's Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah; some Sentences and Verses, and a Gloss on John.

The book of Robert of Cricklade, entitled "The Mirror of Faith," in one volume.

catalogue of the library of St. Evroult is, that we find in it a considerable number of works, composed by the religious of that house, in the course of the eleventh and twelfth cen-

The Mirror of the Church, in which is contained the book of Philo on Hebrew names, translated by St. Jerom; with several other things.

Of the works of St. Ambrose, the church of Lire is in possession of the following:—

Ambrose on Luke.
Ambrose de Fide; addressed to the Emperor Gratian.
Ambrose de Officiis.
The Hexameron of Ambrose.
Ambrose de Virginitate.
Ambrose on the Mysteries, or on those to be initiated.
Ambrose on the Sacraments.
Ambrose on the Conflict of Vices and Virtues.
Ambrose on the Psalm, Blessed are the pure in heart.
Of the Writings of Master Peter, bishop of Paris:—
Master Peter on the Psalter, in one volume, a running Gloss.
Item, A Scholastic History, in three volumes.
The same History, in one volume.
The Sentences of the same Master; a running Gloss on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle, in one volume.
The book of Hegesippus.

Of the works of St. Augustine, this church possesses the following:—

Augustine on John.
Augustine de Verbis Domini.
Augustine on the Sermon on the Mount.
Augustine on the Psalter.
Augustine de Civitate Dei.
Augustine on Christian Doctrine.
Augustine against Faustus.
Augustine against Julian.
Augustine against five sorts of enemies.
Augustine on the Christian Warfare.
Augustine on the Ten Plagues of Egypt, and the Ten Precepts of our Lord.
Augustine concerning the man who provokes another to swear.
Augustine's book of Retractations.
Augustine's Enchiridion.
Augustine's book to Dulcilius on Eight Questions.
Augustine against Felicianus, on the Trinity, and the Incarnation of Christ.
Augustine on divers usages of the Church.
Augustine on Genesis to the letter.

Of the works of St. Cyprian, Cassiodorus, Haymon, Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and Master Hugh, bishop of Paris, there are:—

Cyprian's Sermon on Works and Almsgiving.
Cyprian's Sermon on the Lord's Prayer.
The book of Cassiodorus, "Variarum Formarum."

turies. Though we are unacquainted with most of these works, their titles, and the accounts given of them by Ordericus Vitalis, enable us to form an idea of the literary activity which then prevailed in that society.

Among the able Latinists who were formed in this school, we may name Guitmond,[1] Reynold the Great,[2] Berenger, son of Arnold, who was raised to the episcopal throne of Venosa;[3] Geoffrey of Orleans, afterwards abbot of Croy-

The book of Cassiodorus on the Soul.
The book of Cassiodorus on the Institution of the Holy Scriptures.
Cassiodorus on the Psalter, in three volumes.
Haimon on the Epistles of Paul.
The Homilies of Haimon on the Gospels of Quadragesima.
Item, the same Homilies in another volume.
The book of Bernard on the Song of Songs.
The book of Bernard to Pope Eugenius, "de Consideratione."
The book of Bernard on the Twelve Steps of Humility.
The book of Bernard (Apologia) to the Monks of Cluni.
The book of Bernard to the Monks of Coulombs.
The book of Hugh on the Sacraments.
The Didascalicon of Hugh,
The book of Hugh, "de Arra Animæ."
The book of Hugh on the Material Cloister, on the Twelve Abuses of the Cloister, and on the Spiritual Cloister.
Hugh's Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah.
Of the works of St. Gregory, Isidore, Bede, and Origen, there are:—
Gregory on the book of Job, in two volumes, called Moralia.
Gregory on the first and last part of Ezekiel, in one volume.
The book of Gregory called "The Register."
Gregory's book of Pastoral Care.
Gregory's Dialogue.
Gregory's Forty Homilies on the Gospels.
Isidore on Genesis. Isidore de Summo Bono. Isidore's book called Synonima. Isidore's Etymologies. In one volume.
Bede on Genesis.
Bede's book de Tabernaculo.
Bede's book de Temporibus et de Computo Lunæ.
Bede's book on the Rules of Grammar.
Origen on the Old Testament.
Origen on Leviticus.

Cetera que desunt, quia cuncta dapes anime sunt,
Scribite scriptores, ut discant posteriores.

What books we need, the soul to feed,
Let copyists pen, for coming men.

[1] Vol. i. 444.
[2] Vol. i. 435.
[3] Vol. i. 435, 439.

land;[1] and Robert de Prunelai, successively prior of Noyon-sur-Andelle, and abbot of Thorney, in England.[2] The memory of the last is still kept alive by one of the most ancient manuscripts preserved in the library at Alençon.[3]

John of Rheims, who was educated in the city from which he took his name, entered the monastery of St. Evroult in the time of abbot Mainier, on the nomination of Ralph de Montpinçon, who endowed the convent for his support. He lived there nearly forty-eight years, and filled, with great credit, the office of sub-prior. In 1090 he went to Rome; he also spent some time at the priory of Maule; and he composed a considerable number of works, both in prose and verse. Ordericus Vitalis, his disciple, mentions the poems which he "dictated" in honour of Jesus Christ, the blessed Virgin, and St. Evroult.[4] These poems were included, with other compositions, in a manuscript,[5] for

[1] Vol. ii. 101.

[2] Vol. iii. 421.

[3] This valuable manuscript (No. 12, d'Alençon), a folio of 187 pages on parchment, is divided into two parts. The first, containing ff. 1—53, is of the tenth century, and appears in the ancient catalogue of the library of St. Evroult; (before, p. xii). The second, ff. 55—187, is not older than the end of the twelfth century.

The manuscript contains twenty-nine articles, among which may be mentioned: 1. The Consolation of Philosophy, by A. M. S. Boethius, with marginal and interlineary glosses. At the top of the first folio, there is written in a hand of the twelfth century, "Robert de Prunelai repudiates the credit of having composed these glosses." At the end of the first part (fol. 57), the copyist has inserted four Latin verses expressive of his pleasure at completing his task. No. 2. Is a piece of thirty-one verses in Latin, entitled *Versus Platonis de Deo*. No. 29. Contains part of the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, beginning from the Prophecies of Merlin. The other articles are, for the most part, Acts, Lives, and Passions of Saints.

[4] Vol. ii. 185, 212—216, 229.

[5] This MS. was in the library of St. Evroult. It is described in a catalogue now in the Imperial Library at Paris made in 1682, and entitled "Joannis Remensis Opuscula." The compositions referred to are, Verses on the blessed Mary, according to the letters of the alphabet: to Warin, abbot of St. Evroult, on the priors of that abbey and the restoration of the monastery: moreover on the endowments made to it by princes, nobles, and other pious persons.—Another on the entire life of Christ.—The life of St. Evroult; the same in verse; the preface bears the author's name, and dedication of his work to Ralph, abbot of Séez, afterwards bishop of

which I have made a fruitless search in the library at Alençon; and nothing, that we know of, is preserved of the writings of John of Rheims, but his epitaph, in verse, on Peter de Maule.[1]

William, of Merleraut, wrote some homilies,[2] and a history of the translation of Saint Josse to the church of Parnes.[3]

The metrical epitaph on Ansold de Maule was composed about the year 1118, by Eudes de Montreuil,[4] who, in 1130, accompanied abbot Warin in a journey to Rebais.[5]

Warin de Séez, who entertained Louis le Gros at the priory of Maule, and visited the abbey of Rebais in 1130, was an able man and a good scholar.[6] A collection of Sentences attributed to him was preserved in the library at Evroult in the twelfth century.[7]

Roger du Sap, abbot of St. Evroult, whose acquirements gained him the friendship of Lanfranc,[8] composed hymns in honour of St. Evroult.[9] He has just claims on our gratitude, for having been the first to encourage Ordericus Vitalis to undertake his work.[10]

His successor, Warin des Essarts, pursued the same course,[11] and composed several pieces, in prose and verse,

Rochester, and archbishop of Canterbury.—"Collectanea" from the Fathers, on God, the Trinity, the Word incarnate, and on angels and men. Besides some other theological treatises, it also contains a short chronicle from the Incarnation to the year 1112, and some verses from Virgil and other poets.

[1] Vol. ii. 220, 221.

[2] See before, p. xi. The author of the catalogue, just referred to, is disposed to attribute to William of Merleraut the homilies which are found at the beginning of a MS. of the twelfth century (No. 149 of the library of Alençon, now 65 of St. Evroult). The MS. contains also a collection of sermons, several of which are by St. Bernard, a homily of St. Anselm, and one of Johannes Scotus.

[3] Vol. i. 478, 479.

[4] Vol. ii. 232.

[5] Vol. ii. 318.

[6] Vol. ii. 236.

[7] See before, p. viii.

[8] Vol. i. p. 468.

[9] Vol. i. 443.

[10] Vol. i. 3.

[11] Vol. i. 4.

one of which is preserved by Ordericus Vitalis.[1] Besides this, he left a Collection of Sentences.[2]

The old catalogue also tells us of such a Collection, made by the abbot Richard of Leicester.[3]

Prior Geoffrey's name is attached to a volume of Miscellanies.[4]

Another prior, of the name of John, composed a gloss on the Psalter,[5] which is conjectured, though perhaps without sufficient foundation, by a Benedictine of the seventeenth century, to be extant in a manuscript preserved in the library of Alençon.[6]

Walter, of Jumièges, made a transcript of Seneca's Letters, and at the end of his copy inserted some verses, which he composed in honour of this philosopher.[7]

A monk, who writes anonymously, dedicated a poem of nearly two hundred lines to the praises of abbot Robert de Leicester.[8] I cannot venture to attribute this poem to Ordericus Vitalis, although there are circumstances which

[1] Vol. iii. 323—331.

[2] See the Catalogue of St. Evroult, p. xi., xii.

[3] Ibid., p. xiv.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. xiii.

[6] Lib. d'Alençon, MS. No. 13; now 35 of the library of St. Evroult. This MS., which is of the twelfth century, besides the glossed Psalter, contains thirteen other articles, one of which is a fragment of the Commentary of Bede on the Gospel of St. Mark, commencing: "The kingdom of God is like a man sowing seed."

[7] This MS. was also in the library at St. Evroult, and is numbered 136 of those which are still preserved.

The two last lines of the verses referred to in the text, are:—

"At ne scriptoris nomen livore prematur,
Gemmeticensis in hac Galterus parte notatur."

[8] Mountfauçon (*Bib. bibl.*, ii. 126) notices this poem in the MS. No. 43 of St. Evroult. There is another copy in the library of Rouen, in a MS. of the twelfth century, now marked No. H. 98 of the abbey of St. Ouen. Besides the principle article, the poem "de Abbate Ricardo," this MS. contains St. Augustine on Genesis, the Rule of St. Benedict in verse, and three other articles.

There is this curious note at the beginning of the volume, in characters of the thirteenth century: "This book belongs to St. Evroult, and is delivered to brother Matthew de Claremont, of the order of Friars-Minors. And the monks of St. Evroult have an acknowledgment for it by letters from the lord bishop of Séez."

support the conjecture. For instance, the piece, which was written soon after the 9th of May, 1140, commences with lines[1] which involuntarily call to mind the feelings expressed by Ordericus in 1141, when he put the last hand to his Ecclesiastical History.[2]

Nor were the arts wholly slighted by the religious of St. Evroult. It was one of the monks, Nicholas by name, who superintended the works for the erection of the church.[3] Another monk, Roger de Warrenne, ornamented a copy of the gospels with gold, silver, and pearls.[4] Abbot Osberne cultivated the mechanical arts with remarkable skill; he practised carving, and perhaps forging metals.[5]

We learn, from a variety of facts, with what ardour music was cultivated at St. Evroult. The first abbot, Thierri de Mathonville, taught his scholars to sing.[6] His successor, Robert de Grentemesnil, engaged Arnold the chanter of Chartres, a pupil of bishop Fulbert, to compose the music for the office of St. Evroult. Two of the younger monks, Robert and Ralph, made a journey to Chartres, for the purpose of hearing it from the author's mouth;[7] which leads us to suppose, that the musical characters then in use did not supply a perfect notation, serving only to assist the memory of the chanters. Reginald the Bald had several pieces of his own composition inserted in the antiphonaires of the abbey.[8] Guitmund enriched the tropaire and antiphonaire with several chants of great melody, and made some important additions to the office of St. Evroult.[9] Ordericus Sometimes the guests entertained at the abbey were pil-

[1] Qui quondam studium puer exercere solebam,
Ingenio torpens, jam nunc cessare volebam.
Proposito tali sors obviat exercialis
Quæ jubet ut studiam, quia causa patet specialis.

[2] "Now, worn out by age and infirmities, I have a strong desire to bring this book to a close; and from various circumstances I have good reasons for so doing."—Orderic. b. xiii. c. 45, post p. 222.

[3] Vol. ii. 259.

[4] Vol. ii. 252. [The illumination of manuscripts is also mentioned as one of the arts cultivated at St. Evroult. See vol. i. 429.—Ed.]

[5] Vol. i. 442. We may be allowed to add, that *architecture*, as well as sculpture, were among the arts cultivated by Abbot Osberne. We find also Durand, *the gardener*, among the earliest monks of the new foundation. A monk who was gardener of Jumiéges became abbot of Dive.—*Ed.*

[6] Vol. i. 388.

[7] Vol. i. 443.

[8] Vol. i. 443.

[9] Vol. i. 443.

has handed down to posterity the names of the chanters, William Gregory,[1] and Robert Gamaliel.[2] A collection of chants preserved in the Imperial library, and some rules of music inserted in one of the most valuable manuscripts of the library at Alençon,[3] must, in justice, be referred to the school of St. Evroult; and the traditions of this school were carried to Italy, and taught in the monasteries of St. Euphemia, Venosa, and Melito,[4] by Robert de Grentemesnil and his disciples.

We find an Hippocrates in the catalogue of the books in the library at St. Evroult, in the twelfth century;[5] nor need we be surprised at it, as this monastery became the retreat of several religious of great medical skill. Such was Goisbert of Chartres, the physician of Ralph de Toeni, who continued the practice of his art after he had assumed the monastic habit in the abbey at Ouche.[6] Such also was Ralph Mal-Coronna, who was first a monk of Marmoutier, and afterwards became a member of the society of St. Evroult. He had studied the sciences with great success in the schools of France and Italy; and such was his skill in medicine, that his equal could hardly be found in the city of Salerno. Long after his death, the inhabitants of the district of Ouche still spoke of his skill, and attributed real prodigies to its success.[7]

It appears, then, that during a century there was no branch of human knowledge which was not cultivated in the abbey of St. Evroult. Unfortunately it was not long before that house, as well as most of the Benedictine establishments, fell into decay.

[1] Vol. i. 429.

[2] Vol. i. 436.

[3] This manuscript, which has been shortly described by M. Ravaison (*Rapports*, p. 249), now numbered 2, was marked 80, in the library of St. Evroult. It is a small folio of 146 leaves, of the twelfth century, and contains a great number of curious and valuable articles, besides the musical rules referred to in the text. Among these are several of St. Jerom's works, Tertullian's Apology, tracts on Weights and Measures, a multiplication table, and other such things.

[4] "In these three Italian monasteries the chant of St. Evroult is used."—Vol. i. 439.

[5] See before, p.

[6] Vol. i. 471; ii. 185, 189, 204, 236, 237.

[7] Vol. i. 394, 423, 424, 426.

An attempt at reform, made in the reign of Francis I., appears to have failed.[1] In the seventeenth century it was renewed with greater success. The reform of the congregation of St. Maur, in 1628, introduced at the abbey of St. Evroult an era which may be compared with the period of which Ordericus has furnished the history. Then the old manuscripts were drawn forth from the oblivion into which they had fallen. Dom Anselm le Michel was one of the first men of learning who became alive to their importance.[2] Then came Dom Luke d'Achery, who had the most valuable of them brought to Paris.[3] These manuscripts were used in all the great works of the Benedictine fathers.[4] In the course of the year 1682, a monk, whose name I regret that I have not been able to discover, drew up a catalogue of them, the original of which is still preserved in the Imperial Library,[5] and of which Mountfauçon published extracts in 1739.[6]

When the abbey was suppressed, the manuscripts were conveyed to Laigle, and at a later period reassembled in the library of Alençon, where nearly eighty of them are now preserved. But before they were removed several volumes had been lost, and others had passed into different collections, public or private.[7]

[1] See the preface of William Vallin on Ordericus (§ vii. of these Remarks), the *Gallia Christiania*, xi. 828, and more particularly this note of Anselme le Michel: "A 1524, Felix de Brie, the abbot commendatory, tried to introduce some measures of reform through the monks of St. Martin aux Prées at Paris; but the attempt proved fruitless, the monks [of St. Evroult] being averse to it, and the abbot taking little pains to enforce it." St. Germain, Latin, N. 1066, fol. 200.

[2] The notes of this Benedictine are preserved in the Imp. Lib. at Paris. MS. 1066, St. Germain, Latin.

[3] D'Achery's notes are still to be seen on several of the MSS.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti.*—Mabillon *Analecta.*—*Augustini opera* (vi. 633, 335).—*Ambrosii opera* (at the end tome i.).—*Gregorii opera* (i. xv.).—*Hieronymi opera* (v. 5).—Martene, *Amplissima collectio.*—The same *De Ritibus Ecclesiæ.*—Bouquet (xi. 628).

[5] Résidu St. Germain, paquet 160.

[6] *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, ii. 1267.

[7] Several of the manuscripts which belonged to the abbey of St. Evroult are now in the Imperial Library at Paris, and are referred to in the course of these Remarks.

II.

LIFE OF ORDERICUS.—HIS CHARACTER.—HIS ACQUIREMENTS.

Odelerius of Orleans,[1] the son of Constantius, was one of the followers of Roger de Montgomery when he came into England; and, for his share in the conquest, received a grant of lands lying on the banks of the river Meole at the east gate of Shrewsbury.[2] He found on his domain an ancient chapel, a building constructed of timber, which Odelerius vowed, during a pilgrimage he made to Rome, to replace by a church of stone. Assisted by his lord, Roger de Montgomery, he performed his vow, and contributed according to his means to the foundation of a monastery dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, to which he retired for the end of his life, on, probably, the 3rd of June, 1110, the Friday in Whitsun week.[3]

Odelerius had three sons, Benedict, Everard, and Ordericus.[4] The last was born on the 17th of February, 1075,[5] and baptized on the Saturday of Easter following, that is on Holy Saturday, which fell that year on the 4th of April.[6] The rite was performed in the church at Atcham, on the Severn, dedicated to St. Eata. There is still standing on the spot a church of which M. de Gerville has procured a drawing, and from the style of its architecture, it may be considered a building of the eleventh century. We may, therefore, indulge the idea that the church now standing witnessed the baptism of one of the most illustrious historians of the Middle Ages.

The priest who administered the sacrament, and was also

[1] Odelerius is in all probability the person called *Oilerius sacerdos* and *Oilerius presbiter*, in the charters of foundation of Shrewsbury Abbey. See *Monast. Anglic.* iii. 518, 520.

[2] Vol. ii. 48, 197, 198.

[3] Vol. ii. 198—203.

[4] Vol. ii. 200, 202.

[5] Vol. ii. 113; iv. 222.

[6] Ibid. *Sabbato Paschæ.* I interpret these words, not as meaning the Saturday after Easter, but Holy Saturday—Easter-eve. The quotations given by Dom Martene (*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, iii. 406, in the edition of 1737) prove that in the Middle Ages the Holy Saturday was called the Saturday of Easter.

sponsor on the occasion, was called Ordericus, which name he bestowed on his godson.[1]

Ordericus was five years old when, in 1080, he was sent to school at Shrewsbury. His master, Siward, a priest, taught him "the letters of Nicostrasta Carmenta,"[2] that is, the Latin alphabet, and instructed him in the proper mode of performing his duties as one of the children of the choir in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Odelerius was a man of fervent piety; and he had a strong desire to dedicate his son to the service of God. It would have been very natural for the young Ordericus to assume the monastic habit in the monastery at Shrewsbury, of which his father was one of the founders. But Odelerius feared that under such circumstances the sacrifice would not be sufficiently complete. He, therefore, in the course of the year 1085, bathed in tears, delivered his son, then aged ten years, to a monk named Reynold,[3] and sent him, for the love of God, with an endowment of thirty silver marks, into a strange land, never to see him again. The boy wept, but made no resistance. In submission to his father's will, and relying on his assurances, which guaranteed to him in the name of God a place in Paradise if he became a monk, he left his country, his kinsmen and friends, who wept over him, and bid him a most affecting farewell.[4]

Thus it was that at the age of ten years Ordericus crossed the Manche and landed in Normandy, where he knew no one and was quite unknown. Like Joseph in Egypt, he could not understand the language which was talked around him; but, conducted to the monastery of St. Evroult, he would soon find himself again established in a family, in the bosom of which, loved and honoured by all, it was his happy lot, to the end of his life,

[1] Vol. ii. 113; iv. 222.

[2] Vol. ii. 113; iv. 223. Several authors have attributed the invention of the alphabet to Niostrata Carmenta, the mother of Evander. See the *Nouveau traité de Diplomatique*, ii. 10.

[3] Reynold was probably the monk of Séez, who came over in 1083 to assist in the erection of the new monastery at Shrewsbury, and had remained in England till this period. See vol. ii. 203. *Ed.*

[4] Vol. ii. 113, 201, 204; iv. 223.

to taste those ineffable delights with which God rewards his most devoted servants.[1]

The circumstances which I have just detailed left a vivid impression on the mind of Ordericus. At the advanced age of sixty-six years, he still cherished with tender regard the memory of a father whom he had scarcely known; and spoke with respectful feeling of the priest who baptized him, and the master who taught him to read. Notwithstanding the kind welcome which he received in Normandy, he always considered himself an exile there, and the care with which he constantly used the title of ENGLISHMAN[3] (*Vitalis Angligena*) was simply an act of patriotism. This feeling also explains the large share assigned to England in the Ecclesiastical History.[4]

On Sunday, the 31st of October, 1085, Mainier, abbot of St. Evroult, admitted Ordericus into the number of his monks. He then received the tonsure, and as the name of Ordericus sounded ill in Norman ears, that of Vitalis was substituted for it, in remembrance of one of the companions of St. Maurice, whose memory was solemnized by the church on that day.[5]

Dividing his time between prayer and study, Ordericus conciliated in the highest degree the esteem and affection both of his superiors and his brethren. Thus flowed his days in a course of profound tranquillity; and the only events by which, as far as we know, the even tenour of his life was interrupted, were the solemnities when his successive orders in the church were conferred upon him. Ordained subdeacon on the 15th of March, 1091, by Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux,[6] and deacon on the 26th of March, 1093, by Serlo bishop of Séez,[7] he went to Rouen by the order of

[1] Vol. ii. 204; iv. 223.

[2] Vol. ii. 113, 202—204; iv. 223.

[3] Vol. ii. 103, 214, 269, 448. [In the places referred to, *Vitalis Angligena* is prefixed to different copies of verses written by the author He also describes himself as "The Englishman, monk of St. Evroult," in the title of his great work.—*Ed.*]

[4] "See the preface which M. Forester has prefixed to his English translation of Ordericus Vitalis."—[Vol. i. pp. iii. and iv. of this work.]

[5] Vol. ii. 113; iv. 223, 224. The feast of St. Maurice is observed on the 22nd of October.

[6] Vol. ii. 122; iv. 224.

[7] Vol. iv. 224.

his abbot, Roger du Sap, on the 21st of December, 1107. His age was then thirty-two years, wanting two months. William, archbishop of Rouen, conferred on him the order of priest. The service was marked by circumstances of peculiar solemnity. No less than seven hundred candidates for ordination, among whom was an abbot of Fécamp, received orders of various degrees. Ordericus composed a short copy of verses in memory of this august solemnity.[1]

In 1141, Ordericus was compelled by age and infirmities to bring his work to an end.[2] He was then sixty-six years old: we are left in ignorance how long he lived after the cessation of his labours. We find a *Vitalis*, monk of St. Evroult, registered in the obituary[3] of that church on the 3rd of February. This might have been our historian.

If the life of Ordericus Vitalis presents to our notice, from

[1] Vol. iii. 414, 415; iv. 224.

[2] Vol. iv. 222.

[3] Imp. Lib. at Paris, Lat. No. 801, fol. 4. As this manuscript is often referred to in the course of this Notice, I will describe its contents.

1. (fol. 1) *Obituary of the abbey of St. Evroult*, copied in the thirteenth century. Many entries have been added *après coup*.

2. (fol. 36) Note on the anniversary of Hugh de Grentemesnil. I quote the first lines, which do not agree with what Ordericus says (vol. iii. 220) of the death of this earl: "A.D. 1098, on the ninth of the calends of March [Feb. 21] died Hugh de Grentemesnil, earl of Leicester, founder of this monastery, a monk of our congregation," &c.

3. (fol. 37) A martyrology, written about the middle of the twelfth century.

4. (fol. 77) Notes on associations formed to pray for the dead.

5. (fol. 80) Note on the translation of an arm of St. Evroult. Cf. Ordericus, vol. ii. 320.

6. *Catalogue of the books belonging to the abbey of St. Evroult.*

7. (fol. 81) Continuation of the notes on associations to pray for the dead.

8. (fol. 82) Lessons.

9. (fol. 122) Rule of St. Benedict.

10. (fol. 122) Adonic verses on the rule of St. Benedict.

11. (fol. 123) On the twelve degrees of humility.

12. (fol. 123) Liturgical notes; among which is one relating to the dedication of the church of St. Evroult in 1099.

13. (fol. 124) A calendar written in the thirteenth century.

14. (fol. 130) Rules and tables for calculating [the moveable feasts].

15. (fol. 138) *A chronological table, in the margin of which are the Annals of St. Evroult.*

16. (fol. 162) Fragment of an Anglo-Saxon calendar of the eleventh century.

the materials we possess but few occurrences, his work conveys to us many incidental notices from which his character may be drawn, and which disclose his tastes, his habits, and the extent of his acquirements.

Ordericus had a strong inclination for travel, one of the best means of acquiring information at the time in which he lived; but "confined to the cloister," he says, "by vows which have bound me to the strict observance of the monastic rule, I am unable to investigate the affairs of Alexandria, Greece, and Rome."[1] His superiors, however, on more than one occasion gave him permission to leave the monastery. In 1105, we find him in France.[2] About the year 1115 he went to England, and spent five weeks at Croyland Abbey,[3] over which a former monk of St. Evroult, Geoffrey of Orleans, then presided. In a subsequent journey he visited Worcester[4], where he saw a manuscript of the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, continued by Florence of Worcester.[5] The period at which he was shown a manuscript of Sigebert in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, at Cambray, is unknown.[6] Perhaps he went, in the month of October, 1119, to the council of Rheims.[7] It is certain that he was present, in the abbey-church at Cluni, on the 20th of March, 1132, at a great assembly of twelve hundred monks of the order to which the abbey of St. Evroult was affiliated.[8] We find him at Merleraut on the 9th of August, 1134, during a storm of extraordinary violence; and the next day he hastened to the village of Planches, for the purpose of making his own observations on the singular effects of the lightning, which he has described in the last book of his History.[9]

But if Ordericus had seldom opportunities of observing the events which he relates, and visiting the places which

[1] Vol. i. 3.
[2] Vol. ii. 116; iii. 369.
[3] Vol. ii. 86.
[4] Vol. i. 493, 494.
[5] [Cf. our note to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, printed in the *Antiq. Lib.*, pp. vi.—x.—*Ed.*]
[6] Vol. i. 494.
[7] Vol. iv. 1, and note.
[8] Vol. iv. 132; i. 423.
[9] Vol. iv. 140, 141.

had been their theatre, at least, he obtained much information from ocular witnesses. It so happened, that the abbey of St. Evroult became the asylum of many aged soldiers of rank who had been either engaged in the expeditions of the Normans in Italy, or had joined the crusades, or fought in the wars of William the Conqueror and his sons. Besides this, it was in constant communication with Italy, on one hand, where the three monasteries of Saint Euphemia, Venosa, and Melito were peopled by colonies from St. Evroult,[1] and, on the other hand, with England, whence it drew a considerable portion of its revenues.[2] On their return from the missions on which they had been sent, either to these two countries, or to the court of the sovereign pontiffs, the monks took pleasure in relating whatever they had observed during their travels. Ordericus enables us to perceive the attention with which he listened to such details, in the portrait which he has drawn of Reynold d'Echaufour, one of the brethren, whose fortune it was to visit twice Apulia and Calabria. "His vigorous memory," says our author, "enabled him to relate with great fulness whatever he had seen or heard. His conversation charmed his companions."[3]

It also frequently happened that the abbey of Ouche gave its hospitality to men of religion from foreign countries; and these our author lost no opportunity of placing under contribution. One day, a monk of Winchester, a passing guest, showed him a Life of St. William, copies of which were exceedingly rare in Normandy. Unfortunately, the traveller was in haste to depart, and it being winter, the fingers of Ordericus were numbed with cold. Still the opportunity was not to be lost; he seizes his tablets, and takes notes from the manuscript, to enable him afterwards to compose at leisure a life of the founder of the abbey of St. Gellone.[4]

[1] Vol. i. 438, 439.

[2] Vol. ii. 189, 254—256, 443. Respecting the possessions of the abbey of St. Evroult in England, see the fourth article of the MS. No. 10 d'Alençon, described hereafter, § vi. 38; the Chartulary preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and several charters deposited in the archives of the department of l'Orne. References to most of these possessions will be found in the General Index to this work.

[3] Vol. i. 453, 454.

[4] Vol. ii. 243, 244.

grims or crusaders returning from Spain or from Palestine. Many of these, like William VII., count of Poitou, delighted in giving a poetical and romantic air to the narrative of their adventures.[1] Ordericus listened to them with a pious enthusiasm, and it was no doubt under such inspiration that he relates, in measured and rythmical prose, several episodes of the crusade, in which fiction is often mingled with truth.

In his love of the marvellous, our author's imagination led him to borrow materials for his work even from the popular traditions. At one time he seeks from them the etymology of local names,[2] at another the origin of the relics of antiquity scattered over the land.[3] He employed them to supply what was wanting in written documents containing the Lives of the saints.[4] It may be added that we are indebted to these traditions for the picturesque description of the infernal cavalcade given in the eighth book of the Ecclesiastical History.[5]

Nor were even the poems of chivalry without their echoes in the cloisters of St. Evroult. Ordericus makes direct allusions to the romance of William Court-Nez,[6] the satirical songs of Luke de la Barre,[7] and the fable of the giant Bohemond.[8]

This taste of Ordericus for light literature, if I may use the term, was united with real classical acquirements, as far as such were in vogue in the twelfth century. He was conversant with the works of many of the ancient pagan writers, as well as those of the fathers of the church. Thus, without having in all cases read their works, we find him quoting on several occasions, among the Greeks, Aristotle,[9] Herodian,[10] Josephus,[11] and Philo;[12] among Latin prose

[1] Vol. iii. 301.
[2] Vol. ii. 288.
[3] Vol. ii. 275, 287, 314, 457.
[4] Vol. i. 424; ii. 136, 137, 279, 280.
[5] Vol. ii. 511—520.
[6] Vol. ii. 243.
[7] Vol. iv. 76.
[8] Vol. iii. 366.
[9] Vol. ii. 40.
[10] Vol. ii. 40. [Plato might have been added, ii. 39.]
[11] Vol. i. 11, 212, 179, 180.
[12] Vol. i. 175.

writers, Cicero,[1] Sallust,[2] Trogus Pompeius[3] (that is Justin),[4] and the pretended Dares of Phrygia;[5] among the poets, Plautus,[6] Terence,[7] Virgil,[8] Horace,[9] Ovid,[10] Persius,[11] Lucan,[12] and Statius;[13] among the ecclesiastical writers, Tertullian,[14] Origen,[15] Prudentius,[16] Orosius,[17] St. Jerome,[18] St. Augustin,[19] Fulgentius,[20] St. Gregory,[21] and Isidore of Seville.[22] I purposely omit to insert in the list those authors whom he particularly employed in composing his History, as I shall have to refer to them before long.

Towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the following century, letters shed an unusual flood of light on the north of France. At this period several of the master-pieces of theology, and of the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages, saw the day. It was not long before the fame of some of these works reached the ears of Ordericus, who vastly preferred recording in his annals the success of new books than the military exploits of his countrymen. Rising above the jealousies which caused dissensions between so many rival abbeys, he has paid the most distin-

[1] Vol. ii. 40.
[2] Vol. ii. 46.
[3] Vol. i. 1, and note; ii. 494.
[4] In the middle ages, Justin's Abridgment passed under the name of Trogus Pompeius. The following note was written in the thirteenth century on a MS. of Justin to combat this opinion: "Know, reader, that this work is not that of Trogus Pompeius, but Justin's, who abridged the forty-four volumes of Trogus Pompeius, and, like him, wrote in Latin." Imp. Lib. Paris. Sorbonne, No. 907.
[5] Vol. i. 1.
[6] Vol. ii. 479.
[7] Vol. iii. 19.
[8] Vol. i. 492; ii. 51; iii. 295, 494, 504.
[9] Vol. i. 403, 416.
[10] Vol. ii. 112; iii. 280.
[11] Vol. ii. 479.
[12] Vol. iii. 466.
[13] Vol. i. 492.
[14] Vol. i. 174.
[15] Vol. ii. 240.
[16] Vol. iv. 114.
[17] Vol. i. 1, 83.
[18] Vol. i. 6, 83; ii. 40, 240; iii. 154
[19] Vol. i. [83], 253; ii. 40,
[20] Vol. ii. 375, 376.
[21] Vol. ii. 34, 284.
[22] Vol. i. 6, 83.

guished homage to the celebrity which the schools of Bec enjoyed at this time: "that monastery, of which every monk merited, so to speak, the title of philosopher."[1] He has given a clear idea of the deep impression made on their contemporaries by the genius of a Lanfranc,[2] a Saint-Anselm,[3] a Baudri,[4] and a Hildebert.[5] In a more modest rank, he brings under our review the productions of several monks of St. Evroult,[6] of Guitmond of Aversa,[7] Robert de Tombelaine,[8] and Richard de Fourneaux.[9]

Like all the clever men of his age, he took great pleasure in the composition of Latin verses. It would even appear that his poetic talents were remarked by his fellow-monks; for they often applied to him when epitaphs were wanted, and it is easy to be seen that he attached a certain value to the pieces of poetry which he has introduced into his works. Among these we find a poem on Henry I;[10] a prayer addressed to God, imploring protection against the spirit of evil;[11] and the epitaphs on Avicia de Sauqeville,[12] Walter d'Aufai,[13] Warin des Essarts,[14] Hugh de Grentemesnil,[15] John of Rheims,[16] Robert de Rhuddlan,[17] Roger du Sap,[18] Thierri de Mathonville,[19] and Earl Waltheof.[20] I have already

[1] Vol. ii 68.
[2] Vol. ii. 40, 41, 68.
[3] Vol. ii. 67, 68.
[4] Vol. iii. 190, 191.
[5] Vol. ii. 72; iii. 227, 228.
[6] See before, pp. xx., &c.
[7] Vol. ii. 53.
Vol. ii. 429; iii. 35, 36.
[9] Vol. iv. 152.
[10] Vol. iii. 323.
[11] Vol. ii. 269.
[12] Vol. ii. 269.
[13] Vol. iv. 180, 181.
[14] Vol. ii. 214; [commencing—

"Thrice had March, lowering, windy, cold, and bleak."

It is one of the best of our author's poetical productions.—Ed.]
[15] Vol. ii. 448, 449, 450.
[16] Vol. iv. 57.
[17] Vol. ii. 316, 317.
["Trained in Jumièges' holy school," &c.]
[18] Vol. ii. 103.
[The last two are very good; and the verses on Robert de Rhuddlan (vol. ii. 448, &c.) especially, are full of spirit.—Ed.]

spoken of the verses which he wrote at the time of his ordination.[1]

Notwithstanding the simplicity of his character, Ordericus never omits any fair opportunity of making a display of his erudition. Thus he transfers to his own times terms belonging to classical antiquity; introducing, for instance, tribunes and centurions into the armies of William Rufus.[2]

Another piece of pedantry is seen in his employment of Greek words, gathered somewhat at random from the writings of the fathers of the Latin church.[3] It would appear also that this practice was much in vogue at the abbey of St. Evroult. Greek was, doubtless, as little understood there as in the rest of the French monasteries. But in spite of this ignorance, we are in possession of several documents which exhibit the pretensions of the religious of Ouche. Thus, among the manuscripts which were executed in the twelfth century, I have observed a Greek alphabet with the name and numerical value of each letter; and a sort of table with the same design, but which is in such disorder, and so incorrect, as to prove that the copyist did not understand what he wrote. There is, besides, a formula in which the Latin words are expressed in Greek characters. I have also particularly remarked some chants for the church interlarded with Greek and Hebrew. I beg leave to quote one of the most curious specimens:—

[1] Before, p. xxxii. See what I have said, p. xxv., respecting the authorship of the poem on Richard of Leicester. The metrical life of Saint Lomer, which will be referred to afterwards (§ vii. 1), may have also been the production of Ordericus Vitalis.

[2] Vol. ii. 269 and 495 [where we have adopted the phrase, "officers in command," for *centurionibus et tribunis*. Perhaps the use of such terms is not so much an instance of pedantry, as of the want of equivalent words in medieval Latin to describe the position of the leaders of troops marshalled under the feudal system. The adaptation of classical terms to this purpose is common in writers of our author's age, and in translation the military titles of modern times are equally inappropriate.—Ed.]

[3] Such as *cauma, charisma, Epanalepsis, Epitumum, Monadicon, Plasma, Polyandrum, Soma, Symmathites, Symnista, Syntagema, Theomachia, Theusebia.* [References are given by M. Delisle, but they would be useless in referring to a translation of the text. He remarks that several of the Greek words employed by Ordericus are explained by a glossary contained in a MS., No. 25 of the Library at Alençon, which was No. 64 in that of St. Evroult.]

"Christe, salvator, Jesu, et, alfa et ω, eia, Alleleuia,
Eloym, eloe, adonai, sabaoth, ia,
Aday, robustus, kyrros, elom, fortis, vita,
Tetragammaton, ioth, evau, het, Deus, Dominus, via,
Sol, eie, eser, messias, qui est sother veritas.
Unctus, homo, usyon, excelsus, ymago, magister, figura."

* * * * * * * *

III.

PLAN OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY—DATE OF ITS BEING COMPILED—DIVISIONS—THE PART WANTING IN THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE eminent men who successively governed the abbey of St. Evroult discovered the singular qualifications for becoming a writer of history, with which Ordericus was endowed. Roger du Sap and Warin des Essarts had no great difficulty in persuading him to undertake the work.[1] At first, he only contemplated a history of the monastery of St. Evroult: *Historia Uticensis*.[2] Animated by feelings of gratitude, Ordericus desired to hand down to future ages the memory of the abbots, the monks, and benefactors of the house which was the most cherished object of his affections on earth. But it was not long before his views became more extended, and, not content with relating the events of his own times, he either copied or abridged the writings of his predecessors, used them as materials for the work he was compiling, and ended by converting his work into a general history, commencing with the first preaching of the gospel, and ending only with the year 1141.

Solely occupied with the care of increasing the extent of his collections, Ordericus had not the leisure required for digesting them into a consistent whole, and arranging them on a regular and methodical plan. In consequence, his history exhibits a state of confusion, of which M. Guizot[3] has given a most exact idea: "The materials seem thrown together pell-mell, as chance or opportunity brought them into the author's power; sometimes he interrupts the course

[1] Vol. i. 3, 4; [ii. 112.]

[2] Vol. ii. 423.

[3] See his *Notice* on Ordericus Vitalis, published in the *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, and translated as an introduction to this work, vol. i. p. xi.—ED.

of his narrative by dividing the account of a particular event into distinct portions, separated by long intervals; and, at others, he repeats the same story in different parts of his work, so that the reader is continually surprised by the strange manner in which times, places, and subjects, the most distant and the most incongruous, are brought together. No sort of art or method appears to have been used in combining this prodigious mass of facts, and when the work is considered as a whole, from a single point of view, one cannot avoid, on a first impression, being most sensible of this striking confusion."

The Ecclesiastical History, as we now possess it, is divided into thirteen books, the subjects of which are given in the following short summary:—

Book I. Life of Jesus Christ. An Abridgment of Universal History since Jesus Christ, to the year 1141.

Book II. Lives of the Apostles, of the principal disciples, and of St. Martial. History of the Popes. Ordericus appears to have intended to divide this book into two.[1]

Book III. Summary of the principal events in the history of Normandy, down to the middle of the eleventh century. Foundation or restoration of monasteries. Re-establishment of the abbey of St. Evroult in 1050; lives of the four first abbots. History of the family of Giroie. Foundation of the priory of Neuf-Marché. Intestine disturbances during the minority of Duke William. War between the Angevins and the Manceaux. Conquest of England. Establishment of the Normans in Italy. Digression on the life and miracles of Saint Josse.

Book IV. Events in the reign of William the Conqueror, from 1066 to 1080, or thereabouts. Biography of the most celebrated abbots during that period. Summary of the monastic history of England. Life of St. Guthlac. History of the abbey of Croyland.

Book V. Events in the reign of William the Conqueror after 1075. Life of St. Taurinus. Chronology of the archbishops of Rouen, harmonized with that of the popes, the most celebrated bishops, and kings, &c. Administration of

[1] Vol. i. 232.

Mainier, abbot of St. Evroult. History of the priory of Maule.

Book VI. Endowments bestowed on the abbey of St. Evroult at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. Profession of different monks. Foundation of the priory of Aufai, with the genealogy of the founders. Life of St. Evroult, and the history of his relics. A miracle wrought by the intercession of St. Benedict, on behalf of a man belonging to the church of Ely.

Book VII. Abridgment of the History of France, under the Carlovingian and Capet kings. Genealogy of Edward the Confessor. Various events in the reign of William the Conqueror:—the battles of Val-des-Dunes and Mortemer; arrest of Odo, bishop of Bayeux; death of Queen Matilda; expedition against Hubert, viscount of Maine; death and funeral of the king. Campaigns of the emperor Henry IV. in Italy. Wars of Robert Guiscard against Alexis Comnenes, and Robert's death. Assassination of Canute IV., king of Denmark. History of the relics of St. Nicholas.

Book VIII. Events in the reign of William Rufus.

Book IX. History of the first Crusade.

Book X. Events at the close of the reign of William Rufus, and the commencement of the reign of Henry I.

Book XI. Events in the reign of Henry I. to about the year 1114.

Book XII. Events in the reign of Henry I. down to 1131. Merlin's prophecies.

Book XIII. Close of the reign of Henry I.; and the reign of Stephen, as far as 1141.

These thirteen books were not composed in the order in which we now find them: I shall attempt to fix the period at which each of them was written.

The *first* book was composed after books III., IV., and V.,[1] after the death of King Henry I. (1135);[2] before that of abbot Warin des Essarts (1137);[3] before that of the Antipope Anaclete, (1138);[4] and before the accession of Lewis le Jeune (1137).[5] These facts enable us to assign the com-

[1] Vol. ii. 112.
[2] Vol. i. 130, 131.
[3] Vol. i. 4.
[4] Vol. i. 130, 158.
[5] Vol. i. 143, 154.

pilation of the first book to the year 1136. The paragraph relating to the wars which ensued on the death of Henry I.,[1] was added afterwards, probably in 1141.

The last lines of the *second*[2] book were probably also written in 1141. I conjecture that the substance of the book was composed in 1136 or 1137.

The *third* book was written in the lifetime of Robert Giroie, who died about 1124.[3] The prologue of this book was added at a later period.[4]

The *fourth* is, at most, as early as 1125,[5] and anterior to the book following; which is of 1127.[6] We may assume its date to be 1125, from the passage in which it is stated, that Turgis had been bishop of Avranches for thirty years.[7]

The *fifth* book must be posterior to July 13, 1127,[8] but only by a very few months, since it was composed in the twenty-seventh year of Henry I.,[9] forty-two years after Ordericus became a monk,[10] and seventeen years after the accession of Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen.[11]

The *sixth* book was composed, there is no doubt, after the journey of the abbot of St. Evroult to Rebais; that is, about 1131.[12] The close of the book, from the history of Geoffrey the Breton, was a new insertion after the death of Abbot Warin,[13] and after the completion of the seven last books of the work.[14]

A passage in the *seventh* book is posterior to the death of Henry I.[15]

The *eighth* book was composed during the life of Henry I.,[16] thirty-three years after the accession of that king,[17] and thirty-seven years after the foundation of Cîteaux.[18] These indications agree with 1133 or 1134.

Ordericus was sixty years old when he commenced his

[1] Vol. i. 157.
[2] Vol. i. 373.
[3] Vol. i. 394.
[4] Vol. i. 374—376.
[5] Vol. ii. 3, 72.
[6] Vol. ii. 113.
[7] Vol. ii. 8, 9.
[8] Vol. ii. 113.
[9] Vol. ii. 168.
[10] Vol. ii. 114.
[11] Vol. ii. 169.
[12] Vol. ii. 318.
[13] Vol. ii. 321—332.
[14] Vol. ii. 223.
[15] Vol. ii. 331.
[16] Vol. ii. 348, 349.
[17] Vol. ii. 429.
[18] Vol. ii. 431, 432.
[19] Vol. iii. 47.

ninth book.[1] He entered upon his sixty-first year on February 16, 1135.

The *tenth* book was composed after the ninth,[2] and subsequently to the death of Henry I. (1135);[3] at least, if the passage from whence this indication is drawn was not added to the body of the work: a circumstance which the state of the manuscript of St. Evroult rather suggests.

The *eleventh* book must belong to the commencement of the year 1136, a period when Ordericus had not yet reached the age of sixty-one years,[4] when the reign of Louis le Gros had lasted twenty-seven years,[5] and when King Stephen had just ascended the throne.[6] The passages referring to the length of the administration of Roger, abbot of Fécamp,[7] and John, bishop of Lisieux,[8] which seem to belong to 1138, and even 1141, must have been subsequent interpolations.

The *twelfth* book was composed in 1136 or 1137, ten years after the accession of the emperor Lothaire,[9] six years after Fulk of Anjou was raised to the throne of Jerusalem,[10] and shortly after the death of Eustace de Bréteuil, which happened in 1136.[11] A chapter which would seem to have been written in the lifetime of Henry I.,[12] must have been a fragment prepared beforehand, which Ordericus omitted to retouch when he inserted it in its place.

The *thirteenth* book was finished when the author was in the course of his sixty-seventh year; that is, before February 16, 1142, and after the month of June, 1141.[13]

The following table gives the result of the preceding observations:—

Book I.	composed in 1136;	retouched in 1141.
II.	„ about 1136;	„ 1141.
III.	„ about 1123,	except the prologue.
IV.	„ in 1125.	
V.	„ in 1127.	
VI.	„ about 1131;	retouched in 1141.

[1] Vol. iii. 60.
[2] Vol. iii. 191, 192.
[3] Vol. iii. 267.
[4] Vol. iii. 323.
[5] Vol. iii. 355.
[6] Vol. iii. 346.
[7] Vol. iii. 414, 415.
[8] Vol. iii. 417.
[9] Vol. iv. 84.
[10] Vol. iv. 107.
[11] Vol. iv. 19, 157.
[12] Vol. iv. chap. xxviii. pp. 43, 44.
[13] Vol. iv. 222.

Book VII.	composed	after 1135.	
VIII.	„	in 1133	or 1134.
IX.	„	in 1135.	
X.	„	in 1135.	
XI.	„	in 1136.	
XII.	„	in 1136	or 1137.
XIII.	„	in 1141.	

By combining these dates with other indications, we are able, under the present form of the Ecclesiastical History, to discover the original plan pursued by Ordericus. At that time Books I. II. and VII. were not in existence; the work consisted of only ten books, namely:—

Book I.	which is now	Book	III.
II.	„	„	IV.
III.	„	„	V.
IV.	„	„	VI.
V.	„	„	VIII.
VI.	„	„	IX.
VII.	„	„	X.
VIII.	„	„	XI.
IX.	„	„	XII.
X.	„	„	XIII.

On the original manuscript, which we shall have presently to describe, traces of the numbers first employed are to be found in more than one of the titles placed at the beginning or ending of books. In these places the new numbers are substituted for the former ones by the same hand which wrote the manuscript; but sometimes the alteration was omitted in the body of the work. Thus, in one place, the third book is called *primus libellus;*[1] in another, Books IX. and X. are counted as the sixth and seventh.[2]

We may hazard a conjecture that the manuscript of the Ecclesiastical History was originally bound in two volumes: the first, containing the six first books; the second, the seven last. Ordericus himself seems to allude to this division.[3] But very shortly afterwards it was found convenient to make it into four volumes, in which state it appears in

[1] Vol. i. 495. [2] Vol. iii. 60, 192. [3] Vol. ii. 331.

the catalogue of the library of St. Evroult, made in the twelfth century.[1]

According to this division, of which the original manuscript still exhibits some traces, each part was thus composed:—

Part I.	- -	Books I. and II.
II.	- -	VII. and VIII.
III.	- -	IX. to XIII.
IV.	- -	III. to VI.

There is a chasm in the seventh book of the Ecclesiastical History which we have reason to regret. In chapter iv. Ordericus announces his intention of giving a genealogy of Edward the Confessor, from Shem the son of Noah. He, accordingly, commences this genealogy, but in our manuscripts and printed editions, it is abruptly broken at Odin.[2] However, a fortunate accident has enabled me to complete it. In one of the manuscripts of St. Evroult, now preserved in the library at Alençon,[3] there is found a genealogy of the English kings, the earlier part of which exactly corresponds

[1] See before, p. xiv.

[2] Odin or Woden. See vol. ii. chap. iii. p. 350, and the note.

[3] This manuscript, a large folio of 111 leaves, copied about 1203, and numbered 122 of St. Evroult in the Imp. Lib. at Paris, is unusually rich in historical documents. Its contents are:—

1. The Ecclesiastical History of Hugh de Fleuri.
2. An account of the cities of Gaul.
3. A catalogue of the kings of France, as far as, and including, Louis VIII.
4. A catalogue of the emperors, as far as, and including, Lothaire II.
5. The prophecies of Merlin.
6. A catalogue of the archbishops of Rouen to Walter de Coutances.
7. Genealogy of the descendants of Japhet to Francus, Romanus, Almanius, &c.
8. On the degrees of kindred.
9. Explanation of the names of some of the heathen goddesses.
10. *The genealogy of the English kings.*
11. Names of the seventy-two disciples.
12. Catalogue of the popes to Innocent III.
13. Chronological notes on some events of the fourteenth century. [Printed at the end of this volume, pp. 229—268.]
14. Dudo de St. Quentin.
15. Books v., vi., and vii. of William de Jumièges.
16. Abridgment of the Sacred History, with genealogical tables, &c. —Notes on Ancient History.
17. A calendar.

with that given by Ordericus. There is no doubt but our author incorporated in his work this summary of the history of the kings of England, in the same manner as he had already inserted an abridged account of the kings of France, literally copied from a former writer. The document from which Ordericus adopted the genealogy,[1] and from which he also borrowed on other occasions, runs as follows:—

THE GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

I. Shem.
II. Beadvuig.
III. Wala.
IV. Hatra.
V. Itermod.
VI. Heremod.
VII. Scelduvea.
VIII. Beavu.
IX. Cetuva.
X. Geata. This Geta was long ago worshipped by the Pagans as a god.
XI. Findgoldvulf.
XII. Fridhupulf.
XIII. Frealap.
XIV. Frithovuald.
XV. Woden. From him the English call the fourth day Woden's-day. He begat four sons, from whom the race of the English [kings] sprung.
XVI. Wehta, from whom are the Kentish [kings].
Casere, from whom are the East Anglians.
Weothelgeat, from whom are the Mercians.
Weagdeag, from whom are the Deiri.
Bealdeag, from whom are the West Saxons.
Wilgels, from whom are the Bernicii.
Winta, from whom are the Lindiffari.

[1] This genealogy nearly corresponds with that given in the Saxon Chronicle, and used by Henry of Huntingdon in his History. These, like the copy employed by Ordericus, confine the line of descent after Woden to the West Saxon kings, of whom Cerdic was the founder. In the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, there is an exactly similar genealogy of the descent to Woden, with tables of the descent of all the kings of the Heptarchy from that stock. See the edition in the *Antiq. Lib.*, pp. 332, &c. It appears that Ordericus saw this manuscript when he was at Worcester, and he may have extracted the genealogy; but the better opinion seems to be that there were many copies extant of an original document of this description, one of them being that now deposited in the Imperial Library, which M. Delisle concludes was used by Ordericus. I have not attempted to correct the orthography of the Anglo-Saxon names, which vary in all MSS. and editions.—Ed.

XVII. [Bealdeag] begat Brand, from whom the royal race is descended.
XVIII. He begat Freodegar; who begat
XIX. Frevuine; who begat
XX. Wig; who begat
XXI. Gewis, from whom the Britons call that whole race Gewis.
XXII. Esla.
XXIII. Elesa.
XXIV. Cerdic. He and his son Ciric slew Nathanleod, king of the Britons, with five thousand men; and having gained the victory in four battles, reigned six years.
XXV. Ciric.
XXVI. Creoda.
XXVII. Cenric. He reigned xxvi. years.
XXVIII. Ceaulin, xxx.
XXIX. Cuthwine.
XXX. Cutha.
These two [Cuthwine and Cutha] slew three British kings, Commeail, Condidaii, and Farinmel, with many others, and took from them three cities, Glavecestre, Cirencestre, and Bathancestre.
XXXI. Cedwald.
XXXII. Coenred.
XXXIII. Ingels and Ine, brothers. These two greatly loved God, and built the abbey of Glastonbury.
XXXIV. Eopa.
XXXV. Eafe.
XXXVI. Ealhmund.
XXXVII. Egbert. He begat
XXXVIII. Adelwulf, clerk and king. He begat
XXXIX. Edred and Alfred. These two brothers fought against the Danes at Escesdun [Ashdown], and slew Hagseg, the king, and four counts, Sidroc, Osbern, Frena, and Harold. Then the kings of the Danes, Guthrum, Oskitel, Amund, Halfdene, Inguar, and Huba, cruelly ravaged England; and Edmund, king of the East Angles, and two other kings, were slain by them.
XL. He [Alfred] begat Egelfleda, Edelgeovu, Edelvuard the Scholar [*literatum*], and Edward the elder.
XLI. He [Edward] begat Edelstan, Edred, Edmund
XLII. He [Edmund] begat Edwy, Edgar.
XLIII. He [Edgar] begat Edward, of Wilstrida, and Egelred, of Elfstreda. They were slain.
XLIV. He [Egelred] begat Edvuard, Alfred, Edmund Irneside.
XLV. He [Edmund] begat Edmund, Edward.
XLVI. He [Edward] begat Edgar Adeline; and Margaret, queen of Scots, and Christiana, a nun.
XLVII. She [Margaret] bore Melcom, king of Scots, three sons and two daughters: Edgar, Alexander, David; Edit, or Mathilda, and Mary.
XLVIII. She [Edit or Mathilda] bore to King Henry, William Adeline and Mathilda the empress.
XLIX. Henry, William, and Geoffrey.

L. [Henry begat] Henry and Richard, and Geoffrey, the father of Arthur, and John; who now reigns in his seventh year.[1]

When St. Edward was slain by the before-named heathen, Edred, the surviving king of the Gewissæ, tried to defend the kingdom against the enemy with all the force he could muster.

On the death of Edred, his brother Alfred succeeded to the kingdom. In the strength of God, he either slaughtered, drove out, or forced to submission the enemy, and first of all the English kings held alone the monarchy of all England. He excelled, as I think, all preceding and subsequent kings of England in worth, liberality, and laudable prudence, and reigned xxix. years.

By his wife Ealsvuda, he had Edward the elder, Edelwald the literate, Egelfrede, the wife of Elthered, earl of Mercia, and Edelgeovu, a nun.

Edward the elder, Alfred's son, with his sister Egelfreda, lady of the Mercians, reigned long and nobly. After his death, his three sons succeeded him in order—Edelstan, Edmund, and Edred.

After them reigned Edwin, son of Edmund. He was weak and wicked, and the English rebelled against him and slew him, and, by God's authority, the kingdom was given to his brother Edgar, because he had reigned long and prosperously, both to himself, the people, and the church of God.

After him reigned his brother Edward, a man of good disposition, whom he begat of the noble lady Wilstrida, and who was brother of St. Edgith; but he was shortly afterwards treacherously slain by Queen Elfstrida, the daughter of Ordgar and mother of King Egelred, his step-mother.

During Egelred's reign many misfortunes arose in the realm of England. For Sweyn, king of the Danes, invaded England with an immense fleet, and the English going over to him, King Ethelred, and his wife and sons, fled to Normandy; for his wife Emma was the sister of Richard, son of Gunnor, duke of Normandy, and of Robert, archbishop of Rouen. Not long afterwards Sweyn was killed by St. Edmund, king and martyr, and his body carried to Denmark. King Ethelred, as soon as he heard of his death, returned to England; but Canute, son of Sweyn, with Lacman, king of Sweden, and Olave, king of Norway, came to England and besieged London.

Ethelred being dead, his son Edmund, surnamed Irneside, then reigned. He had two sons, Edward and Edmund, who after their father's death were delivered as hostages to the king of Hungary by Sweyn, king of Denmark, at the instance of his brother Canute. There Edmund Clito [Athelin] died, and Edward, marrying the king's daughter, had by her Margaret, queen of Scots, and Christiana, a nun.

Queen Emma married Canute, who had now become a christian, and bore him Hardecanute and Gunnilde; but he sent Edward and Alfred, her sons by her former husband, into exile in Normandy.

Edmund having been treasonably murdered in a privy by Edric Streon,

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[1] The last few entries were probably inserted subsequently to the compilation, or transcript, of the original genealogy.—Ed.

Canute reigned over all England, and sent Edmund's sons into exile in Denmark.

After the death of Canute, Harold, his son by the concubine Effgiva, reigned in England. He caused Alfred, who was betrayed to him by Earl Godwin, to be deprived of sight; but he only lived a short time, and on his death unwillingly left his kingdom to Hardecanute.

Hardecanute recalled Edward, his half-brother, from Normandy, and after two years perished from poison given him by Emma at the feast made by Osgood Clappa, when he married his daughter to Tovi the Dane.

Then Edward, the right heir, reigned twenty-three years, and recalling the infant children of his nephew Edward from Hungary, gave Margaret to Malcolm, king of Scots, who bore him three children, namely, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who were all kings of Scotland; and also Edith Matilda, the wife of King Henry, and Mary.

Besides the genealogy of the Kings of England, we also miss, in the seventh book of Ordericus, one or two episodes connected with the abbey of St. Evroult. For we learn from a note written in the fifteenth century, that Ordericus, in the second part of his work (Books VII. and VIII.), gave an account of the reasons which induced the bishop of Lisieux to refuse consecration to the abbot of St. Evroult. In the state we now possess it, the Ecclesiastical History furnishes us with no details concerning the election of this abbot.

IV.

VALUE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF ORDERICUS—THE OBLIVION IN WHICH IT REMAINED DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

If it cannot be disguised that the plan pursued by Ordericus in his work was very immethodical, it must be acknowledged that this blemish is redeemed by its great merits.

Instead of those short and meagre notices, of which the greatest part of the chronicles of the Middle Ages consist, Ordericus presents us with narratives, groups, portraits, and words of living men; in a word, with history, such as it has been understood both in ancient and modern times. Occasionally, he is even carried out of bounds by his fervour in composition. The writer suffers himself to be led away by his imagination till he confuses facts with circumstances which might have attended them; he sacrifices everything to the desire of affording pleasure and interest, of rounding

his sentences, and giving what we should now call local colouring, or an air of romance, to his pictures. It cannot, however, be denied that there is a great foundation of truth even in passages which bear the most evident tokens of art and labour.

Ordericus is not only remarkable for his skill in literary composition: he does not merely relate events, he has a higher object; he judges and teaches. In the retirement of his monastery, "he expects nothing either from the conquerors or the conquered;"[1] he censures what he thinks reprehensible even in his most favourite heroes; he commiserates the misfortunes of the oppressed; ridicules the fashionable follies; and always gives a moral and religious turn to the occurrences which came under his review.

But the particular merit for which the Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus is distinguished, and which makes it one of the most original specimens of the literature of the Middle Ages, is the extreme care with which the author has collected facts appearing at first sight very insignificant, and has entered into details which most of the chroniclers have thought unworthy of notice. M. Guizot,[2] therefore, is quite justified in his remark, without the least exaggeration, that, "no book contains so much and such valuable information on the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on the political, civil, and religious state of society in the West, and on the manners of the age, whether feudal, monastic, or popular."

It would be easy to accumulate evidence in support of the illustrious critic's assertions, but I will confine myself to two facts, which have not received the attention they deserve. One relates to the *Communal Customs;* the other to the *Truce of God.*

Normandy was happily exempt from those sanguinary contests by which, in several provinces of France, the enfranchisement of the communes was wrought out in the beginning of the twelfth century. Before that period, the rights of the inhabitants of the towns, and even of the rural popula-

[1] Vol. i. 495.

[2] *Notice,* published in the *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France,* a translation of which is prefixed to this edition. See vol. i. p. xi.

tions, were secured and regulated in Normandy, by the force of customs which, in many respects, had the same objects as the communal charters. The domains of the lords of Bréteuil were governed by one of these bodies of customs, which Ordericus calls *the law of Cormeilles*, observing that it was brought into operation in the bourg of Aufai, at the close of the eleventh century.[1] This remark, in itself curious, becomes more valuable when compared with a passage in the Domesday-Book, which mentions the introduction of the customs of Bréteuil into a manor in England at the same period.[2] I may add that, in all probability, these customs much resembled those of Verneuil, of which we possess a digest made in the twelfth century.[3]

On several occasions,[4] Ordericus speaks of levies *en masse* of the population, summoned to arms by the *curés*, and marching to battle under the banners of their respective parishes. Our author not only attests the fact, but supplies us with the means of explaining the origin and determining the character of these movements which, more than once, afforded Louis le Gros powerful support in his struggles against feudality. They were, in truth, crusades directed by the clergy against the disturbers of the public peace. They were the natural result of the enactment of what was called *The Truce of God*. This cannot be doubted when we read the form of the oath required by the synod of Rouen in 1096, to be taken by all christians of the age of twelve years. Every parishioner bound himself to take arms at the first summons of the bishop or archdeacon, and to march under the prelate's orders against all who broke the truce.[5] The history of Berri supplies us with an example which proves still more clearly, if that be possible, the truth of the explanations I offer. In that country, a powerful association was formed to secure the preservation of the public peace under the name of *commune* or *trêve;* the central administra-

[1] Vol. ii. 266.

[2] "There (at Rhuddlan) is a new bourg, and in it are xviii. burgesses, between Count Hugh (Hugh, earl of Chester) and Robert (Robert de Rhuddlan). They granted the burgesses the customs and laws which are in Hereford and Breteuil."—*Domesday*, i. 269, col. 2.

[3] *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, iv. 638. Cf. vii. 592.

[4] Vol. iii. 24, 487.

[5] Vol. iii. 70.

tion being in the hands of the archbishop, and its action being extended efficaciously through all the parishes of the diocese. M. Raynal, whose penetration the real character of this institution could not escape, has traced its history for three centuries with great ability. Referring to his work[1] those who have any curiosity to study the question, I shall content myself with the production of a testimony, as yet unpublished, which throws a strong light on the origin of the commune of the diocese of Bourges. I quote from André de Fleuri, a cotemporary writer.[2]

"At this time (about A. D. 1038), Aymon, archbishop of Bourges, was desirous of consolidating the peace of his diocese, under the sanction of an oath. In consequence, he summoned the bishop of his province, and, with the concurrence and support of his suffragans, promulgated a decree binding all persons of the age of fifteen years and upwards heartily to resist all violators of the common compact, and, so far from submitting to have their property plundered, to rise in arms, if occasion required, against the marauders. Not even the ministers of religion were exempted, but taking the banners from the sanctuary of the Lord, they were to join the rest of the population, and have them borne against the violators of the sworn peace. In this way they often broke up the quarters of the traitors and razed their castles; so that, by God's aid, such terror was struck into their rebellious hearts that when they heard even vague reports scattered through the country of the approach of the faithful, they deserted their strongholds, leaving the doors open, and took to flight in a panic divinely inspired. You might see the faithful, like another people of Israel, raging furiously against the hosts of those who knew not the Lord, and compelling them by the ardour of their attacks to re-submit to the law of peace which they had broken. The sanction of this

[1] *Histoire du Berri*, vol. ii. 183, 184. See also a document published by Thaumassière, in his *Coutumes Locales*, 717.

[2] *De Miraculis Sancti Benedicti*, lib. ii. (Imp. Lib. fonds des Blancs-Manteaux, No. 84, t. iv. fol. 122). It is to be hoped that this treatise on the miracles of St. Benedict, one of the most interesting monuments of the history of the eleventh century, will soon be published by M. de Certain, who has prepared an edition of it from a manuscript in the Vatican. On André de Fleury, see *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de l'Orleanais*, ii. 257.

bond, which the archbishop himself and his suffragan bishops made on oath in the following form, is worthy of a place in this work: 'I, Aymon, by the grace of God, archbishop of Bourges, do sincerely promise, with heart and mouth, to God and his saints, that I will perform what follows with my whole soul, without fraud or covin; namely, I will join the association in putting down all who lay hands on ecclesiastical property; all who promote robbery, or oppress the monks; and all who molest the nuns and clerks of holy mother church. I will not be tempted, either by bribes or by any considerations of affinity or relationship, to depart from the path of rectitude. But I pledge myself to make head with all my might against such as shall venture to break the laws of this association, and not to yield in any way until the offenders be brought to renew their compact.' Having made this affirmation on the relics of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, Aymon exhorted the rest to do the same. They obeyed with willing hearts, and all the parishioners and provincials, as I have said before, from the age of fifteen years and upwards, joining in forming a commune throughout the several dioceses, sealed their union by the same oath. The fear of them, and the terror of them, struck such a panic into the hearts of the unbelievers, that the multitude of the unarmed common people trembled before them as if they were armed bands, and the hearts of the delinquents so failed, that, deserting their strongholds, they fled before these poor rustics as if they were the troops of powerful princes. In this case the prophecy of David most fitly applied: 'Thou shalt save the humble, O Lord, and cast down the eyes of the proud, for who is Lord, but Thou only!' And that this saying might be fulfilled: 'The Lord smiteth down the proud,' he thus smote down the obduracy of the proud with this humble sword, so that, though unwillingly, they submitted to the injunctions before mentioned, and, of all the multitude, Odo of Dol alone held out, being reserved by the judgment of God for the punishment of his evil deeds."

After this digression, I return to Ordericus. Perfectly as our author's genius was suited to the tastes of the Middle Ages, he was unnoticed by his cotemporaries, who have

not even named him in their works. Four centuries were to elapse before justice was rendered to one of the most useful of our historians.

Astonishing as may appear the fact which I state, it is impossible to raise any doubt respecting it. It is abundantly proved, both by the silence of writers, and by the extreme rarity of ancient manuscripts of the Ecclesiastical History. In consequence, the list of the authors who in the Middle Age made use of this work is soon drawn.

Passages borrowed from Ordericus are found :—

1. In the additions which Robert du Mont made to Sigebert's Chronicle.[1]

2. In the tracts of the same author intitled: *De immutatione ordinis monachorum: de abbatibus et abbatiis Normannorum, et ædificationibus eorum.*[2]

3. In the interpolations made by some monk, probably this same Robert du Mont, in the history of William de Jumièges.

4. In the chronicle of Bec,[3] the date and origin of which would involve a discussion too long for this place.

5. In the lists of the bishops of different churches in England and Normandy, drawn up by an anonymous author, at the end of the fourteenth century.[4]

V.

THE SYSTEM OF CHRONOLOGY ADOPTED BY ORDERICUS VITALIS.

Before I refer to the passages in Ordericus Vitalis which enable us to ascertain the chronological system he generally followed, I think it right to call attention to a document

[1] M. Bethmann has marked in his excellent edition of Sigebert, the passages which Robert du Mont has borrowed from Ordericus. See Pertz, SS. vi. 481, &c.

[2] These tracts have been published by D'Achery, *Guiberti Opera*, 811—818, and in the *Monast. Anglic.* vi. 1061, from a Bodleian MS. I do not coincide in opinion with M. Berthmann (Pertz, SS. vi. 475, 479), who thinks that the tract, *De immutatione ordinis monachorum*, was partly derived from a little work on the origin of the Cistercian order, published in the *Monast. Anglic.*, v. 220. See afterwards, § vi. 18.

[3] Published by D'Achery, in the Appendix to Lanfranc, and reprinted by Dr. Giles, in his edition of that author's works.

[4] Imp. Lib. fonds St. Victor, No. 900, fol. 102, &c.

which may throw some light on this important question. It is a table compiled at the abbey of St. Evroult at the beginning of the twelfth century,[1] and marking the indiction, the epact, the concurrents, the paschal term, and the lunar cycles in each of the fifteen hundred years which had elapsed since the birth of Jesus Christ. I have compared the figures contained in the columns of these tables with those given by the authors of *l'Art de vérifier les dates*, and I find that they exactly agree. Besides this, amongst the notices which are prefixed to the table, we have the following rules: "The lunar epacts commence on the 1st September; the cycle of nineteen years changes on the 1st March; the indictions, on the 24th September;[2] the years of the world, on the 22nd March; those of the incarnation, on the 25th December."[3]

We find, then, in a manuscript of St. Evroult, the commencement of the year very clearly assigned to the 25th December, and the commencement of the indiction fixed on the 24th September. Let us see if these two rules were followed by Ordericus.

On the one hand, the manner in which this author has dated many events which happened in the months of January and February[4] proves that he did not reckon the commencement of the year either from Easter or the feast of the Annunciation [25th March].

On the other hand, to come to conclusive facts, as he places in the year 1067 the Christmas-day which followed the battle of Hastings (October, 1066),[5] and in the year 1136 the Christmas-day which followed the death of

[1] Imp. Lib. Suppl. Lat. No. 801, fol. 138—160.

[2] The versifier who composed a tract on calculations, called *Massa compoti*, of which there is a MS. of the twelfth century in the Library at Alençon which came from St. Evroult, also makes the 24th of September the starting-point of the indiction.—MS. Alençon, No. 25, fol. 135. v.

[3] MS. last referred to, fol. 131.

[4] The 16th of February, 1075 (vol. ii. 112), answers to the 16th of February, 1075. Feb. 1106 (vol. ii. 223), to Feb. 1106. The 15th of January, 1089 (vol. ii. 464), to the 15th of January, 1089. January, 1091 (vol. ii. 507, 520), to January, 1091. The 9th of February, 1110 (vol. iii. 437, 438), [where correct a misprint], to the 9th of February, 1110. The 2nd of February, 1113 (vol. iii. 439), to the 2nd of February, 1113. The 29th of January, 1119 (vol. iii. 464), to the 29th of January, 1119.

[5] Vol. i. 490.

Henry I. (1st December, 1135),[1] it may be considered as positively clear that he reckoned the year as beginning from Christmas. There is one passage which even seems to indicate that he counted its commencement from the eve of that feast.[2]

With respect to the indiction, we cannot arrive at so decisive a result. I am disposed, however, to gather from two instances[3] that Ordericus made the revolution of a year of the incarnation exactly coincide with the revolution of an indiction.

Having laid down these two general rules, I have to remark that errors in chronology are very common in our author's work. The same fact is sometimes referred to two or three different dates. The events of several years are often inverted or confounded one with the other; and in many places the numbers given for the indiction are manifestly incorrect.

Ordericus sometimes forgot that in the Roman calendar the last days of the month belong to the calends of the month following. Thus he fixes on the 2nd of the calends of May[4] the execution of Waltheof, which took place on the 2nd of the calends of June—that is to say, on the last of May.[5] In another place,[6] he gives the 8th of the calends of February as the day of the death of Avicia de Sauqueville; but we know, from an authentic epitaph,[7] that this lady died on the feast of St. Peter's chair, in February, which carries the date back to the 8th of the calends of March. The same observation may be made on the date of Ingulf's death.[8]

The error to which I direct attention was probably common in the Middle Ages, and I think that it should be kept

[1] Vol. iii. 346.
[2] Vol. iii. 446.
[3] The 27th of September, 1098, belongs to the sixth indiction, and the 25th of December following to the seventh, vol. iii. 193. The 15th of July and 13th of November, 1099, are attributed to the seventh indiction, vol. ii. 168, 191.
[4] Vol. ii. 85.
[5] See the epitaph on Waltheof, vol. ii. 103. Cf. ii. 100.
[6] Vol. ii. 269.
[7] Vol. ii. 269.
[8] Vol. ii. 101.

in mind when we wish to explain a certain number of false dates. To confine myself to one example, I will mention a bull of Benedict VII.[1] relating to the abbey of Lérins. It bears date on the 10th of the calends of May, the fourth year of Benedict's pontificate, the eleventh of the reign of the Emperor Otho, in the month of May, the sixteenth indiction.[2] The words 10*th of the calends of May* are, without doubt, an error for the 10*th of the calends of June*, so that the instrument was made on the 23rd May, 978, and not, as the learned Jaffé supposed, on the 22nd April.[3]

VI.

WORKS CONSULTED BY ORDERICUS VITALIS.

I NOW come to an examination of the sources from which the Ecclesiastical History was derived; and having already spoken of the materials which Ordericus drew from oral traditions,[4] shall now only pass in review the written documents.

1. *The Holy Scriptures.*—Without speaking of the texts of scripture which we find quoted, with more or less correctness, throughout our author's pages, I will only remark that the New Testament furnished him the elements for the lives of Jesus Christ[5] and the apostles.[6] For this part of his work he consulted not only the Vulgate, but the Poem of Arator on the Acts of the Apostles,[7] and the Treatise of St. Augustine on the Harmony of the evangelists.[8]

[1] This bull has been published several times, and last in Dom Bouquet, ix. 245, and in the *Hist. Patriæ Monum.* SS. ii. 301. There is a copy of it, made as early as the eleventh century, in the Imperial Library, among the charters of the abbey of Cluni.

[2] From the copy in the Imp. Lib.

[3] *Regesta Pontif.*, p. 333, n. 2906.

[4] Before, p. xxxiv. xxxv.

[5] Vol. i. 5—73.

[6] Vol. i. 160—186.

[7] Vol. i. 161, 197.

[8] Vol. i. 74, 83. The copy of St. Augustine used by Ordericus is probably that formerly in the catalogue of the Library of St. Evroult (see before, p. xi.), and now in the Library of Alençon, No. 78. It is a quarto of 213 leaves, written in the twelfth century. Besides the treatise of St. Augustine, which is incomplete, the manuscript contains (fol. 1—158) Haimo's Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah.

2. *Apostolical History, and other documents relating to the apostles.*—The legends of St. James the Great,[1] St. Andrew,[2] St. Philip,[3] St. Bartholomew,[4] St. Matthew,[5] and St. Simon,[6] which fill a large space in the second volume of our author, were borrowed from an apocryphal work known by the name of *Historiæ Apostolicæ libri decem.*[7] Ordericus accepted this history as an authentic document without the slightest misgiving, believing, as it professes in the preface, that it was composed in Hebrew by Abdias, a disciple of the apostles, and translated, first into Greek by Eutropius, and afterwards into Latin by Julius Africanus.[8]

To complete the details of the false Abdias, Ordericus employed various minor works, whose authenticity is scarcely better established. For St. Peter and St. Paul,[9] he had recourse to the Recognitions of St. Clement;[10] the Acts of St. Nereus and St. Achilleus;[11] those of St. Processus and St. Martinian;[12] and two narratives, the authors of which took the names of St. Linus and St. Marcellus.[13] For St. John the Evangelist,[14] he used the pretended history of Mellitus;[15] for St. Thomas,[16] a legend derived from the stories of Abdias; for St. Barnabas,[17] Acts attributed to

[1] Vol. i. 176.
[2] Vol. i. 223.
[3] Vol. i. 250.
[4] Vol. i. 265.
[5] Vol. i. 270.
[6] Vol. i. 276.
[7] I only quote this work from the edition published by John le Févre (Joannes Faber), with this title: *Abdiæ, Babyloniæ primi episcopi, ab apostolis constituti, de historiâ certaminis apostolici, libri x., Julio Africano interprete.* Paris, 1571. 8vo.
[8] Vol. i. 277.
[9] Vol. i. 189.
[10] This is, without doubt, the work called *Historia Clementis* in the catalogue of the Library of St. Evroult. See before, p. xi.
[11] *Acta Sanctorum*, May iii. 6. Cf. the note in § vi., No. 6, on a manuscript in the Library at Alençon, formerly belonging to St. Evroult.
[12] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, i. 303.
[13] Bibliotheca patrum, ed. of 1677, ii. 67.
[14] Vol. i. 238.
[15] See Fabricius, *Bibl. mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, ed. of 1754, v. 68
[16] Vol. i. 252.
[17] Vol. i. 286.

John Mark, his disciple;[1] and for St. Mark,[2] an ancient life,[3] to which our author joined the history of the holy evangelist's mission to Laodicea.[4]

3. *Eusebius and Hegesippus.*—Even if Ordericus himself had not informed us,[5] we should have had no doubt of his having consulted the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, one of the historical works most common in the libraries of the Middle Age.

He was also acquainted with the five books of Hegesippus on the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem.[6]

4. *Anastasius the Librarian.*—It was principally by the aid of the Lives of the Popes by Anastasius the Librarian, that the seventeenth chapter of Book II. was compiled. The copy used by our author in his labours is, to all appearance,[7] the manuscript now numbered 18 in the library of Alençon.[8] Like many writers of the Middle Ages, Ordericus attributes

[1] See *Acta Sanctorum*, June, ii. 431.

[2] Vol. i. 290, &c.

[3] This Life is added to the edition of Abdias, published at Paris in 1571.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum*, April, iii. 346.

[5] Vol. i. 1, 6, 12, 93, 174, 248; ii. 139.

[6] Vol. i. 248. The work of Hegesippus is published in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, ed. of 1677, v. 1120.

[7] Vol. ii. 296—312.

[8] This manuscript, a small folio on parchment of 259 leaves, and written about the year 1025, is in the ancient catalogue of the Library of St. Evroult. See before, p. xiv. It contains—besides several lives and passions of saints—

No. 4. (fol. 7) "The Verses of Ademar, servant of God, to Rohon, bishop of Christ." It is from this acrostic, published by Mabillon (*Analecta*, fol. ed. 432), that the manuscript was executed about 1025 by order of Rohon, bishop of Angoulême.

No. 5. (fol. 7, v.) Letter of St. Jerom to St. Damasus, on the subject of the Acts of the Popes, with the answer of Damasus. See the next note.

No. 6. (fol. 8) History of the Popes, with the length of their pontificates, from St. Peter to Stephen V.

No. 7. (fol. 9) "Gesta pontificum." There is a note on the top signed F. L. D. (Frère Luc D'Achery), stating that the manuscript was sent to him at Paris on the 27th of March, 1655, from the monastery of St. Evroult, and that this "History of the Popes" had been published at Paris in 1649, under the name of Anastasius the Librarian; continued to Stephen VI.

No. 8. (fol. 183) The History of the Lombards. It is the work of Paul the Deacon.

No. 10. (fol. 259) The epitaph on Mabel de Belèsme, who died in 1082; the same which Ordericus inserted in his fifth book, vol. ii. 194.

the Lives of the Popes to St. Damasus. In fact, the text which he had under his eyes is preceded by a Letter from St. Jerom requesting Pope Damasus to furnish him with particulars respecting his predecessors; and to this letter is added the reply of Damasus, who readily communicated to St. Jerom such documents as he had been able to collect.[1]

In addition to the text of Anastasius, Ordericus mentions several pontifical constitutions, extracted from a collection of canons which included the false decretals.

5. *List of the Popes.*—Ordericus gathers what he says of Benedict III. and his successors to Stephen V.[2] from a list of the Popes from St. Peter to Stephen V. copied in a manuscript of St. Evroult.[3]

6. *Gregory of Tours.*—Ordericus quotes only his treatise on the Glory of the Martyrs.[4]

7. *Paul the Deacon.*—Part of the details which our author gives respecting the Lombard kings may have been directly gathered from Paul the Deacon; as he mentions this author,[5] and there was a copy of his works at the abbey of St. Evroult, in the twelfth century,[6] which is now preserved in the library at Alençon.[7]

8. *Bede's works.*—Ordericus has borrowed the thirty-third chapter of his first book[8] from the treatise of Bede, entitled: *De sex ætatibus mundi*,[9] without introducing modifications of any importance; only adding the succession of the kings of the Franks, notices of some eminent prelates or abbots, details respecting St. Cuthbert, &c.

Ordericus must also have been acquainted with Bede's

[1] The reply of Damasus is not given in the *Regesta* of Jaffé, nor among the authentic, or supposititious, letters of this Pope. It was, however, published in the St. Jerom of the Benedictines (v. 5), from the manuscript of St. Evroult and another which belonged to St. Martin de Séez.

[2] Vol. ii. 371.

[3] No. 6 in the manuscript of Alençon, described in a recent note.

[4] Vol. i. 263.

[5] Vol. i. 2, 130.

[6] See the catalogue, before, p. xiv.

[7] See before, p. lix.

[8] Vol. i. 84—130.

[9] *Bedæ opera*, Basle, 1653, ii. 183, &c. Ordericus calls this work "Liber de Temporibus."

Ecclesiastical History, as the library at St. Evroult possessed a copy.[1]

9. *The work of Gildas.*—This work, copies of which were very scarce in the Middle Ages,[2] had been perused by Ordericus;[3] probably in the manuscript preserved at Bec.[4]

10. *Chronicles of Marianus Scotus and Sigebert.*—Ordericus saw at Worcester a copy of the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus,[5] continued by a monk whom he calls John, who is no other than Florence of Worcester.[6] But he had no opportunity of using it in compiling his work.

He was not more fortunate in regard to the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gemblours,[7] of which Fulbert, abbot of St. Sepulchre at Cambrai, showed him a copy.[8]

11. *Annals of St. Evroult.*—The Annals of St. Evroult often served for a guide to Ordericus Vitalis. He followed the chronology of this chronicle, and drew from it materials for a considerable part of the first book of his History.

These Annals are original from the time of William the Conqueror's death. Almost all the entries before that period are copied literally from the Annals of Rouen.

This last compilation was much in vogue in Normandy during the middle ages. To prove this, we need only refer to the use made of it by the compilers of the Annals of St. Evroult, the Annals of Caen,[9] the Annals of St. Wan-

[1] See the catalogue. Ordericus (vol. iv. 97) alludes very distinctly to Bede's History. See before, p. xiii.

[2] See Schoel, *De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque historiæ fontibus.* Berlin, 1851. 8vo.

[3] Vol. iv. 97.

[4] Ravaisson, *Rapports*, 385, 386.

[5] Vol. i. 493, 494.

[6] See Pertz, SS. v. 495. [Cf. the note in vol. i. p. 493 of this edition, and the preface to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*, pp. vi.—x. Ed.]

See Pertz, SS. vi. 268.

Vol. i. 494. Ordericus, deceived no doubt by his memory, called him Engelbert instead of Sigebert.

[9] There ought to be a manuscript of the Annals of Caen, which ended in 1328, in the Library of the Vatican, in the department of the Queen of Sweden, but I am only acquainted with the extracts published by Duchesne (*Hist. Norm. Script.* 1015), after an ancient MS. which brought them down to 1293. Some articles from these Annals, taken from Duchesne and the MS. at Rome, have been inserted in Dom Bouquet, xi. 379; xii. 779; xviii. 348.

drille,[1] Robert du Mont,[2] and the author of a list of the archbishops of Rouen.[3] The only manuscript of the Annals of Rouen with which I am acquainted is not older than the sixteenth century; it belongs to the Imperial Library,[4] and stops at the year 1380. The text of the Annals is interwoven with a compilation of the sixteenth century, entitled: *Chronicon triplex et unum*, and preserved in the library at Rouen.[5] Wyon d'Hérouval saw a manuscript of it, which was more ancient, as old perhaps as the twelfth century; and it was from this copy that Father Labbe[6] published the greatest part of the Annals. From this edition the continuators of Dom Bouquet inserted some fragments in their collections. Lastly, M. Chéruel has comprised a small number of the entries in the Annals of Rouen in the extracts from the *Chronicon triplex et unum*, which he has recently published under the title of *Normanniæ nova Chronica*.

I now return to the Annals of St. Evroult, which I have thought it necessary to publish as an appendix to the History of Ordericus.[7] The text has been settled by the assistance of two manuscripts, namely:—

a. Imp. Lib. Suppl. Lat. No. 801, fol. 138.[8] In this ma-

[1] M. Berthmann (Pertz, SS. vi. 475) has directed attention to the MSS. 7815 and 7821 of Brussels, which contain the Annals of St. Wandrille from the birth of Jesus Christ to the year 1110, with a very short continuation for the years 1127—1204, in another hand-writing. These Annals are partly founded on a compilation of the thirteenth century, the original manuscript of which is preserved in the Imp. Lib. (Fonds St. Germain, Latin, No. 580, fol. 88). See an extract from these Annals in D. Bouquet, xii. 771.

[2] See Berthmann, in Pertz, SS. vi. 475, &c.

[3] This catalogue, of which there is a manuscript belonging to the middle of the fifteenth century in the Imp. Library (Ancien fonds, Latin, No. 5195), was partly compiled from the *Acta Archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, which Mabillon published in his *Analecta*, fol. ed. 222.

[4] Ancien fonds Latin, No. 5530. This manuscript enables us to correct some passages in the *Annals of St. Evroult*.

[5] See M. Chéruel, *Normanniæ nova Chronica*, vi., in the *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie*. 2nd Series, viii.

[6] *Nova Bibliotheca*, i. 364. The version, of which Père Labbe has given extracts, differs in some points from the text copied by Robert du Mont, and by the Annalists of St. Evroult. It agrees with the MS. 5530 just mentioned. M. Chéruel has confused the Annals of Rouen with the Acts of the Archbishops: the two works are independent of each other.

[7] [They are printed in this volume, pp. 229—268.]

[8] See the description of this MS. before p. xxii.

nuscript, which is difficult to decypher, the Annals are copied in the margin of a chronological table. The earlier part, as far as the close of the eleventh century, is all written in one hand. The rest has been successively added by different writers. The last entry is of the year 1503. In several articles relating to the reign of Henry I., I have recognized the same hand which traced the original manuscript of the History of Ordericus.

b. Imp. Lib. Résidu Saint-Germain, Paquet 97, No. 5, fol. 24, &c. It contains twelve sheets of parchment, in large folio. The text must have been copied, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, from the manuscript just mentioned. Some articles are omitted, others abridged. The first hand stopped at the year 1204; another writer inserted afterwards the entries relating to the years from 1204 to 1237. The manuscript was not continued after this period. The pages of this copy are arranged in tables: the first columns show the bissextiles, the concurrents, the lunar cycle, the Sunday letter, and Easter for each of the 532 years of the paschal cycle. Two columns are then devoted to events which occurred during the first revolution of this cycle (from the year 1 to 532); two others to the second revolution of this cycle (533—1064); and two others to the events of the third revolution, which commenced in 1065.

A manuscript of the library of St. Geneviève[1] contains a third text of the Annals of St. Evroult, continued by a monk of the abbey of Gatine in Touraine. This text is known in consequence of detached portions taken from it having been printed in the *Recueil des Historiens de France*,[2] some of which have been republished in the collection of M. Salmon.[3]

Lastly, a fourth text of the Annals existed in the manuscript of St. Evroult, numbered 129. It ended with the year 1112.[4]

The Annals of St. Evroult contain a considerable number of valuable entries, but they have a defect common to most of the chronicles that may be called marginal. It is often

[1] B B. 31.
[2] XII. 773; XVIII. 322.
[3] Recueil des Chroniques de Touraine, p. 374.
[4] See before, p. xxiii. xxiv., in note.

difficult to distinguish the year to which an entry applies. This difficulty has led Ordericus himself into an error. The notice in the Annals concerning the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef* is attached to the year 1119 as well as the year 1120. Ordericus fixes it as belonging to 1119, which is the wrong date.

12. *Historia Francorum Senonensis.*—The beginning of the eighth book of Ordericus[1] is only a literal transcript of a chronicle often copied by the compilers of the middle ages,[2] and which M. Waitz has recently published[3] under the title of "The History of the Franks of Soissons."

It has been supposed that this document came under our author's notice through Hugh de Fleuri; a purely gratuitous hypothesis, for the *Historia Francorum Senonensis* is not even found in the two manuscripts of St. Evroult containing the Ecclesiastical History of Hugh de Fleuri.[4]

13. *Catalogue of the Archbishops of Rouen.*—In arranging his chronological series of the archbishops of Rouen,[5] Ordericus doubtless consulted the catalogue of which the library of Alençon possesses a copy.[6] It gives the time during which each prelate filled the see, and their names are accompanied by synchronical details, which somewhat differ from those inserted by Ordericus in his fifth book.

14. *Distichs on the Archbishops of Rouen.*—In his chronology of the archbishops of Rouen, Ordericus gives two verses on each of the prelates mentioned.[7] This collection

[1] Vol. ii. 331—347, line 3.

[2] See Pertz, SS. ix. 339, 340.

[3] Ibid. 364—369.

[4] One of these manuscripts is No. 20 of the Library of Alençon, described before, p. xlv. The other is No. 22 in the same library, formerly No. 54 of the abbey of St. Evroult. It consists of 166 leaves in folio, appears to have been copied during the second half of the twelfth century, and contains:—

1. (fol. 1) A commentary on the 77 first Psalms.

2. (fol. 80) Ecclesiastical History of Hugh de Fleuri, in a handwriting of the thirteenth century. It is improperly attributed to Ive de Chartres, as other works of Hugh de Fleuri were. See what M. Waitz says on this subject, in Pertz, SS. ix. 338, 339.

3. (fol. 336) The Commentary of Boethius on Porphyry.

[5] Vol. ii. 139—169.

[6] MS. No. 20, fol. 55. See before, p. xlv.

[7] Vol. ii. 159, 140, &c.

of distichs was, no doubt, composed in the course of the eleventh century. It is found, with a continuation, in the Ivory-book preserved in the library of Rouen.[1]

15. *Verses on St. Médard and St. Godard.*—Our author attributes to St. Ouen a little work, of which he quotes four verses.[2] The complete text is found, and attributed to the same author, in a chronicle of Rouen,[3] and a Life of St. Godard, which may perhaps date as far back as the eleventh or twelfth century.[4]

16. *Notice on the Cities of the second Lyonnaise.*—One of the minor works consulted by Ordericus, when writing his history of the archbishops, must have been a rather remarkable notice of the cities of the second Lyonnaise, which Duchesne met with at the end of an old manuscript of Raban Maur, and the author of the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* has prefixed to his work.[5] From this source was derived the name of *Evantici*, given to the people of Evreux;[6] and of *Salarium*, given to the city of Séez.[7]

17. *Dudo de St. Quintin.*—Ordericus was acquainted with this work,[8] but he does not appear to have made much use of it.[9]

18. *William de Jumièges.*—This is one of the authors mentioned by Ordericus as having been laid under contribution by him;[10] but all the corresponding passages which we find in these two historians must not be attributed to the first without any distinction. In fact, if Ordericus has sometimes copied William de Jumièges, one of the continuators of the latter has in turn borrowed some things from the monk of St. Evroult. In order to find the means

[1] P. 36, &c.
[2] Vol. ii. 143, 144.
[3] Normanniæ nova Chronica, ed. Chéruel, p. 1. *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm.*, 2nd Series, t. viii.
[4] It is published at the end of the Chronicle (pp. 44—47), from a Latin MS., 5296 of the Imp. Lib.
[5] Mabillon, *Analecta*, fol. ed. p. 222.
[6] Vol. ii. 138, 139.
[7] Vol. ii. 139, and passim.
[8] Vol. i. 375, 298.
[9] It was published by Duchesne in the *Hist. Norm. Script.*, and M. Migne has reproduced it in his *Patrologie*, t. 141.
[10] Vol. i. 375, 376; ii. 298.

of drawing this distinction, I propose to give a succinct account of the publication of the work of William de Jumièges.

The abbé des Thuilleries,[1] the editors of the *Recueil des Historiens*,[2] and the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*,[3] have reviewed the principal modifications which the text of William has undergone. They have established beyond all controversy that the interpolations and the continuation are, in part at least, the work of Robert du Mont. But it appeared to me that we might carry it still further; and the collation of twenty-four manuscripts[4] has enabled me to distinguish four editions of the *Gesta Normannorum*.

The first, of which I have not met with any manuscript, was finished in the life-time of William the Conqueror; that is to say, before 1087, as is proved by an epistle dedicatory,[5] and an epilogue preserved in some manuscripts of the later editions.

The second, of which we have four manuscripts,[6] appeared a short time after the death of William the Conqueror. We learn this from an addition made to the epilogue, and from the passage with which the chapter relating to the marriage of that prince,[7] ends in this second edition. I give the

[1] See *Mercure de France*, December, 1723, p. 1311.

[2] Vols. xi., xiv. and 620; xii., xlvi.

[3] Vol. viii. 169; xiv. 364.

[4] I am still in want of sufficient details of the six following manuscripts:—
Imp. Lib. [Paris]. Ancien fonds, Latin, No. 4937.
Vatican, No. 1832, of the Queen of Sweden (Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibl.* i. 54).
Library of the British Museum, Cotton MSS. *Vitellius.*
Library of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Library of the British Museum, Harleian Coll., Nos. 3679 and 3742; both of the fifteenth century, according to the printed catalogue (vol. iii. 51 and 57).

[5] Bouquet, xi. 621.

[6] Imp. Lib., fonds St. Victor, No. 580. Beginning of the thirteenth century.
Lib. of Alençon, No. 20; brought from St. Evroult. Beginning of the thirteenth century. This manuscript contains only books v., vi., and vii.
Imp. Lib., Ancien fonds Latin, No. 2769; having belonged to Colbert, and probably to de Thou. Twelfth century.
Imp. Lib., Ancien fonds Latin, No. 6046. It formerly belonged to Cardinal Mazarin. Beginning of the fourteenth century.

[7] In Duchesne's edition it is chapter xxi. of book vii.

passage which escaped the researches of the continuators of Dom Bouquet, although they collated two of the four manuscripts in which I have discovered it:

"By whom [Matilda], in the course of years, he had sons and daughters. Of these, Robert afterwards succeeded his father in the duchy, having been invested with his paternal dignity, which I trust he will long enjoy. Respecting him I shall have to *dictate* more fully in the proper place, should life be spared me."

In taking Duchesne's printed text for the point of comparison, the following differences will be observed in that edition:—

Book I. Chapter ii. is wanting.

B. II. Chapters ii.—viii. have certain passages substituted for them.

B. VI. Chapter ix. is wanting.

B. VII. A few lines fill the place of chapters ii.—iv. The second part of c. ix., cc. x.—xvi., the passage in c. xvii. relating to Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and cc. xix., xx., xxii., and xxiii., are wanting: c. xxiv. mentions the retirement of Archbishop Mauger, but does not point out Guernsey as the place of his exile; cc. xxv., xxvi., xxix., xxx., xxxii., xxxiii., the end of c. xxxiv. and c. xxxv. are wanting; c. xxxvi. is less developed than in the printed edition. The book and the work end with c. xliii., followed by the epilogue already mentioned.

This second edition is the one which Ordericus must have consulted.

I have found that eight manuscripts[1] contain the third edition of the *Gesta*, which it is easy to distinguish from the second. In fact, although both stop at chap. xlii. of book VII., and if we find in neither c. ii. of book I., nor c. ix. of book VI., nor c. xxii. of book VII., still the third edition, among other particularities, contains the text of cc. ii., iv., x., xvi., xix., xx. (in part at least), xxiii., xxv., xxvi., xxix., xxx., and xxxii. of book VII. Several of these chapters having been compiled with the aid of the third book of Ordericus, we are led to

[1] Four of these are in the Imperial Library at Paris; one in the Library of Rouen; one in the Mazarine Library; and one, belonging to Saint Sved de Braine, is described by St. Palaye, *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, iv. 280.]

the conclusion that the third edition of William de Jumièges was published about the year 1125 or 1130.

The fourth edition is best known, being extant in numerous manuscripts,[1] and from it Camden[2] and Duchesne[3] obtained their text. It was compiled from the preceding editions by Robert de Thoringi, then prior of Bec, who became, in 1154, abbot of Mount St. Michael. The fourth and last edition of the *Gesta*, published before 1154, is principally distinguished by the addition of an eighth book, devoted almost entirely to the history of Henry I.

19. *William of Poitiers.*—Ordericus had certainly read the history of William the Conqueror, written by William of Poitiers.[4] He has given us many details on the life of this writer.

20. *The History of Geoffrey Mala-Terra.*—Our author must have availed himself of the work of Geoffrey Mala-Terra[5] in relating part of the Norman exploits in Italy.[6]

21. *Historians of the first Crusade.*—The ninth book of the Ecclesiastical History is almost wholly devoted to the history of the first crusade.[7] Ordericus has taken care to inform us that he made it his duty to adhere closely to the narratives of Fulcher of Chartres, and Baudri de Bourgeuil.[8]

22. *Life of Waltheof.*—What Ordericus relates of the life of Waltheof[9] and the translation of his relics,[10] must have been borrowed from a life of this earl composed at the abbey of Croyland in the beginning of the twelfth century. The text followed by our author is, perhaps, the same as that which M. Francis Michel has published[11] from a manu-

[1] [There are ten in the Imperial Library, references to which are given by M. Delisle; one at Rouen of the thirteenth century; and one at Beauvais, of the fifteenth century.]

[2] *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica,* &c. (Frankfort, 1603, in fol.)

[3] *Historiæ Norman. Scriptores.*

[4] Vol. i. 425, 492; ii. 46. The History of William de Poitiers is published in Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptores.* [Cf. note 1, in vol. ii. 46.]

[5] Printed in Muratori, book v.

[6] Vol. i. 437.

[7] Vol. iii. 58—190.

[8] Vol. iii. 59, 60, 190, 191.

[9] Vol. ii. 80—86.

[10] Vol. ii. 101—103.

[11] Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, ii. 111.

script at Douai.[1] At the same time the version furnished by this manuscript probably contains some amendments made in the original text during the course of the twelfth century.

23. *History of the Abbey of Croyland.*—Ordericus informs us that the history of the abbey of Croyland was related to him by the sub-prior of that monastery.[2] The same traditions will doubtless be found in the *Gesta abbatum Croylandie*, of which there is a manuscript in the library of Douai.[3] It is very remarkable that Ordericus makes not the slightest allusion to the history of Ingulf, although he speaks at some length of that illustrious abbot.[4] Can this silence support the theory of Sir Francis Palgrave,[5] denying the authenticity of the History which has come down to us under the name of Ingulf?

24. *History of Henry V. by David Scotus.*—Ordericus quotes a history of the expedition of Henry V. into Italy, composed by an author whom he described as *Irensis quidam scholasticus* [a certain Irish scholar]. This was, undoubtedly, David the Scotchman, who was first a scholar at Wurtzbourg, and afterwards bishop of Bangor.[6]

25. *Various Lives of Saints.*—The library of St. Evroult contained a fine collection of Lives of Saints.[7] The perusal of these works must have been an inexhaustible source of pleasure to Ordericus,[8] who discovers, by numerous allusions,[9] how deeply he was versed in this class of literature. In the following paragraphs I shall only notice those lives of which he has made some considerable use.

[1] No. 801.
[2] Vol. ii. 95, &c.
[3] MS. No. 801. See M. Francisque Michel, in the Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, ii., xxi.
[4] Vol. ii. 100, 102.
[5] "Essay on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon History," in the Quarterly Review, vol. 34. Cf. "Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland," by Francis Palgrave. London, 1837, 8vo., i., cvi. [This question is impartially discussed by Mr. H. T. Riley in the preface to his translation of Ingulf in Bohn's *Antiq. Library*, pp. ix.—xiv.—Ed.]
[6] Vol. iii. 197, 198. See the note of M. Le Prevost on this passage.
[7] See the catalogue, pp. xiii, &c.
[8] Vol. ii. 114.
[9] See particularly vol. iii. 53, 54.

26. *Life of St. Anselm.*—Ordericus quotes in several places[1] the life of St. Anselm, by Edmer,[2] and tells us that it was preserved at the abbey of Bec.[3] The monks of St. Evroult very soon procured a copy of this work, to which was added the life of the blessed Herluin.[4]

27. *Life of St. Céneri.*—The particulars which Ordericus gives of the life of St. Céneri,[5] are borrowed from a Life of this saint, published first by Mabillon,[6] afterwards by the Bollandists; the text being found in a manuscript once belonging to St. Evroult, and now classed under No. 12, in the library of Alençon.[8] This life, the author of which is unknown, may have been composed in the ninth century. In fact, there is some question, on the one hand, relative to a residence which Charles, king of the Franks, made in a castle of Maine, near St. Céneri; and, on the other, we are led to believe that this tract was compiled before the translation of the relics of St. Céneri, which, according to Ordericus,[9] took place in the reign of Charles the Simple.

28. *Life of St. Evroult.*—One part of the sixth book of Ordericus is occupied with the life of St. Evroult.[10] The substance of this narrative is copied literally from a Life, of which the Imperial Library contains a tolerably good copy, of the thirteenth century.[11] Mabillon inserted it in his Acts

[1] Vol. iii. 203, 237, 435, 436.

[2] Published by Dom Gerberon in his edition of Anselm's works.

[3] Vol. iii. 238. Cf. Ravaisson, *Rapports*, 383.

[4] See the catalogue, before, p. xiv.

[5] Vol. ii. 456. The feast of St. Céneri was celebrated at St. Evroult on the 7th of May, as appears by a calendar of the twelfth century, part of the manuscript 105 of the Library at Alençon, formerly No. 92 at St. Evroult. This MS., an 8vo. of 64 leaves, contains:—

1. (fol. 1, v.) An Epistle of Gregory to Constantius, bishop of Milan.
2. (fol. 2) Fragment of a table of the Rule of St. Benedict.
3. (fol. 3) Verses on the twelve degrees of humility.
4. (fol. 4) The Rule of St. Benedict.
5. (fol. 44, v.) A calendar.
6. (fol. 52, v.) Fragments of a Ritual. One of the most curious articles is entitled: "The blessing of the beard," (fol. 59).

[6] *Acta*, ii. 572—578.

[7] May, ii. 162—166.

[8] See before, p. xxiii.

[9] Vol. ii. 456; iii. 28.

[10] Vol. ii. 273—296.

[11] Ancien fonds Latin, No. 1864. Colbert obtained this manuscript from the abbey of Bonport.

of the Saints of the order of St. Benedict,[1] from two manuscripts of Bec and Conches. This life appears to me to have been derived from the text contained in a manuscript, No. 11, of the library at Alençon,[2] from which I may be allowed to make a few short extracts in a note.[3] Attention

[1] I. 354.

[2] Formerly No. 73 at St. Evroult. This manuscript, a work of the twelfth century, besides the Life of St. Evroult, contains only the work of St. Augustine, *De fide, ad Gratianum*. There are some curious paintings on the face and back of the first leaf.

[3] HERE BEGINS THE LIFE OF ST. EVROULT.

"The man of blessed memory, named Evroult, was born of noble parents, citizens of Bayeux, fortunate for being richly endowed with temporal wealth, still more, for being deeply imbued with the doctrines of the Christian religion. Entrusted by his pious parents to learned masters for instruction in this faith, he became remarkable among his fellows by his great knowledge of the divine law. Committing this to his tenacious memory, when he grew up to the prime of youth among the young courtiers, distinguished both by his noble lineage and brilliant position,—his exalted reputation, graceful manners, excellent conduct, and the virtue of a humility worthy of imitation, gained for him a high post in the palace.

* * * * *

"First, he devoted her [his wife] to the service of God, and she took the veil; and then he himself, having shaved his head and beard, and assumed the religious habit, quitted his country and kindred, and with three God-fearing brethren, fled with the utmost speed to a wilderness overspread with dense forests in the country of Ouche. Having entered the woods, and penetrated into its pathless recesses, seeking some spot where they could conveniently fix their abode, at length by God's aid, an angel leading the way, they came to a large pond, fed by springs of the purest water. On seeing this they greatly rejoiced, and offered thanksgivings to God, lauding him who never fails to help his servants who trust in him. Falling on their knees, they invoked the name of the Lord in the usual course of Hours, as is the custom of monks. They then made a slight enclosure of boughs of trees, and erecting a small hut, laid the first foundation of what such a beginning promised in future times.

* * * * *

"When the brethren had said the collects, and he went to rest on his own pallet, he would quietly call his servitor to his side, and make him repeat holy sentences . . . . . and when he had done hearing or reading, he regularly sung the constantly recurring offices of the Hours, after the Roman and Gallican usage, or of Benedict and Columban the Scot, which he adopted as his rule. Every day, also, he made oblations for the priests to consecrate, and on all Sundays he ordered three masses to be celebrated in his presence, at which he made the usual offerings. . . . . Thrice in the year he had his hair shaved.

* * * * *

is drawn to the passage which states that St. Evroult chanted his Hours according to the usage of the Roman and Gallican churches, or of St. Benedict and St. Columban, to the propor-

"The man of God was so anxious respecting the habitations of the shepherds whom he drew around the monasteries erected by him, that in order to be able to pay needful attention to their wants, he frequently travelled on a mule or an ass, in a single hard day's-journey, the distance of one thousand five hundred paces, [*dexteras*] (which make more than six stadia and twenty paces,)* in going his rounds. For he had the most ardent desire, in his zeal for the Lord, to assemble about him numbers, by whose help he designed to erect large dwellings for the monks. In the twenty-second year after he had made the first beginnings of a monastery, &c. * * * * *

"Thus, he expired on the fifteenth day before the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the first hour of that day. While, however, some of the brethren and the priests were standing round the body of the deceased, chanting psalms for him, and the rest of the congregation in the church, weeping and singing, were commending his soul to God in their prayers, the crowd of poor also who had flocked together to receive the customary alms, bemoaning his loss with loud wailings, his soul returned to the body. Being carried back to his bed, and surviving for ten days, he made his usual provision for God's poor, according to his vow, bestowing alms upon them according to the utmost of his means at the several monasteries. These days, we think, were added to his life by the Divine goodness, both that he might fill up the measure of his charitable bounties at that holy season, and that the distress under which the brethren had been long suffering during his protracted sickness, might be in some measure alleviated by his much loved presence with them. The blessed Evroult departed to the Lord, and left this troublesome world, between the hours of five and six, on the fourth of the calends of January [29th December], in the twelfth year of Hildebert, son of King Sigebert, and when Bishop Robert presided over the see of the city of Séez, &c.

"The venerable father was honourably interred by us in the abbey church of St. Peter, which he had built, in a stone coffin; his deacon lies buried near him, also in a coffin."

* * * * *

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* Some light is thrown on this passage by a gloss written in the twelfth century, on fol. 1 of the manuscript No. 25 of the Library of Alençon, formerly 64 of that of St. Evroult:—

"3 pedes passum faciunt; passus quoque (?) C
Viginiti 5 stadium; si milia des re,
8 facit stadia; duplicatum dat tibi leucam."

Three feet make a pace; 125 paces make a stadium; if you count in miles . . . . makes 8 stadia; if doubled, you have a league.

[The text and the gloss are both difficult, and perhaps incorrect. There are four stadia in an Italian mile, of 125 paces each. It must be imagined what the paths through the forest of Ouche were in the time of St. Evroult. They are bad enough now.—Ed.]

tion established between yards and stadia, and at the end to the mention of silver *sous*.

The Life preserved in the Alençon manuscript was probably compiled in the Carlovingian era. At any rate, in order to prove that it is much older than the Life published by Mabillon, it suffices to remark that we find two or three paragraphs, added to the end of the former in the shape of a supplement, embodied in the text which Mabillon used.

It is rather curious to observe what liberties the author of the second Life has taken with the original work. On the one hand, he has suppressed many circumstances; particularly the too marvellous narrative of the last moments of the saint. On the other hand, he gives details which the earlier biographer had omitted; such as the means taken by the king to induce Evroult, in his youth, to come to court, and St. Evroult's having entered a monastery, before he retired to the district of Ouche.

Ordericus also, on his part, has not contented himself with transcribing, word for word, the second version of this life. The edition with which he has supplied us is enriched with several new articles; the most considerable of which relate to the foundation of the monastery of the Deux-Jumeaux, the antiquity of the castles of Exmes and Gacé, the miraculous origin of the fountain of St. Evroult, the visit of King Childebert, and the adventure of the devil of Échoufour.

More scrupulous than many of his cotemporaries, Ordericus has taken care to inform us that he interlarded the ancient legend with stories which he had gathered in his youth from his conversations with men of advanced age. It is impossible to verify on all points the exactness of these

At the close of the document are three supplementary articles, the second of which thus begins:—

"The person just mentioned paid tribute to God twice a year; namely, on the holy nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on the day of the consecration of the chalice, in which he gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body and blood. On these days he bestowed a hundred silver sous on the poor; not, that forgetting the work of charity at other seasons, he was then profuse with a pharisaical ostentation, for it is most certain that on all occasions he was not slack in the performance of charitable duties."

pious traditions, but I feel it incumbent on me to show, by a single example, that we must not reject them all with utter contempt.

Ordericus relates from oral tradition the manner in which St. Martin de Vertau founded a monastery in the Bessin, at a place afterwards called les Deux-Jumeaux. Doubts may be raised respecting several circumstances in the narrative; but it cannot be disputed that there really existed at the Deux-Jumeaux a monastery which had fallen to ruin long before the period when Ordericus wrote his history. To the proofs which the authors of the *Gallia Christiana*[1] have produced affirming the existence of this monastery in the Carlovingian era, I beg leave to add one supplied by an ancient manuscript of the Novels of Theodosius.[2] A note written on the last leaf purports that the book was copied by a clerk named *Raginardus*, at the request of Esau, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Louis Pius (A. D. 832), in the time of Erembert, bishop of Bayeux, and of ETICHON [?], ABBOT OF THE DEUX-JUMEAUX.[3] We find, then, that tradition did not mislead Ordericus when it pointed to the Deux-Jumeaux as the site of an ancient monastery.

29. *History of the translation of St. Evroult.*—A legend, preserved in the abbey of Rebais, related how the body of St. Evroult was, doubtless in the tenth century, carried off from the territory of Ouche. Ordericus, however, did not think fit to follow this narrative, and preferred confining himself to the local traditions.[4]

30. *Miracles of St. Evroult.*—Not to speak of a collection

[1] Vol. xi. 406.

[2] Imp. Lib., ancien fonds Latin, No. 4413. The authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplom.* (iii. 54, 139, 359) have already drawn attention to this manuscript, under the writing of which they have discovered the Epigrams of St. Prosper in a still older handwriting.

[3] "Ego Ragenardus clericus, Esau rogante, hunc librum scripsi, sub tempore Chludovico imperatore, anno xviii. imperii sui, et sub tempore Eremberti, urbis Baioeas episcopi, et Etichoni [?] Duos Gemellis abbate, et hujus provinciæ H . . . comite.

"I . . um fuit tunc tempore pubertatis predicto Esau."

The Benedictines did not publish this note; and they read it in a different manner. They say, in effect (*Nouveau Traité*, iii. 54, 55), that the manuscript was made "when Henry was count of the province, and Job abbot of the monastery."

[4] Vol. ii. 208, 209.

which perished in the flames before the abbey of Ouche was restored,[1] there was no doubt an account of the miracles of St. Evroult, which supplied Ordericus with the history of one Rualed, who miraculously escaped from the dungeon at Domfront.[2] There is extant another version of the same miracle not taken from the Ecclesiastical History.[3]

31. *Life of St. William.*—The Acts, from which Ordericus compiled the life of St. William, were communicated to him by Anthony, a monk of Winchester.[4] They are probably the same as those published by Mabillon.[5] Respecting the ballads on the deeds of William au Court-Nez, the reader will do well to consult the able dissertation of M. Paulin Paris.[6]

32. *Life of St. Guthlac.*—During the five weeks spent by Ordericus in 1115 at the abbey of Croyland, he compiled an abridgment of the Life of St. Guthlac, which he thought it desirable to make known on the continent, and for that purpose, introduced into the fourth book of his history.[7] He was deceived in attributing the original Life to Felix, the apostle of East Anglia, but the mistake is very excusable, seeing that even modern critics are sufficiently embarrassed in solving the problem of its authorship. At the commencement of the life, such as we have it, we find the words: "*Felix catholicæ congregationis sancti Beda vernaculus.*" Mabillon supposed that the person here mentioned was "a servitor of the congregation of St. Bede," and that Athelwold, "king of the East Angles," mentioned by Felix, was Ethelbald, king of the Mercians.[8] M. Stapleton, in a manuscript note which I have before me, disputes this interpretation. He finds fault with Mabillon for having substituted a king of Mercia for a king of East-Anglia; for having considered the name of "Beda" as indeclinable, and

[1] Vol. ii. 289.
[2] Vol. iii. 2, 3.
[3] In a MS. in the Imperial Library, Lat. 1864, fol. 191, at the end of the Life of St. Evroult. [M. Delisle has published it in the Appendix to Ordericus Vitalis, vol. v. pp. 181, 182.]
[4] Vol. ii. 243.
[5] *Acta*, sect. iv. part i. p. 72, &c.
[6] Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi, iii. 113, &c.
[7] Vol. ii. 86—95.
[8] *Acta*, sect. iii. part i. p. 264.

supposing that the epithet of saint could be given to Bede, in the middle of the eighth century. He contends that the *Athelwaldus* of the legend is a king of East Anglia, who died in 749, and is called Ethelwold in the *Flores Historiarum*, and Elfwald, by Simeon of Durham. Relying on the exact correspondence of the Latin word *vernaculus* with the Saxon word *beoda* or *borda*, he proposes to read, *Felix catholicæ congregationis* (*Saxonice*, *beda*) *vernaculus*. On this hypothesis, the words *Saxonice beda* would be a gloss introduced into the text. This explanation seems to me very ingenious; but it would be necessary to ascertain if there is any authority for it in the ancient manuscripts.

33. *Life of St Josse.*—The work consulted by Ordericus,[1] and of which the library of St. Evroult possessed a copy,[2] was either the Life published by Mabillon[3] (which is found in a collection already noticed, and was either copied at the abbey of St. Evroult, or, at least, from a manuscript belonging to that monastery[4]), or another Life supposed to have been compiled by Isembard de Fleuri,[5] of which there is a copy in the Imperial Library.[6]

34. *History of the invention and translation of the body of St. Josse.*—The account which Ordericus has given of the discovery of the relics of St. Josse and the attending miracles,[7] was borrowed, as he informs us, from a little work addressed by Isembard, a monk of Fleuri, at the request of the monk Adelelm, to Herboud, abbot of Fleuri.[8] According to all probability, this is the narrative of which Mabillon has only published a few lines;[9] but the entire text is found in a manuscript collection formed at St. Germain des Prés.[10]

[1] Vol. i. 472, 474.
[2] See before, p. xiii. (Life of St. Judoc.)
[3] *Acta*, ii. 565—571.
[4] See before, p. lxx., note.
[5] Mabillon, *Acta*, v. 545.—*Hist. Litt.* vi. 439.
[6] *Vitæ et Acta Sanctorum* (Résidu Saint-Germain, pp. 135, 136, No. 1—9), vii. 343.
[7] Vol. i. p. 472—477. Mabillon has inserted the narrative of Ordericus in his *Acta*, v. 545.
[8] Vol. i. 575, 477.
[9] *Acta*, ii. 571; v. 545.
[10] *Vitæ et Acta Sanctorum*, Imp. Lib. Résidu St. Germain, p. 135, 136, Nos. 1—9, vii. 346.

As for the history of the translation of St. Josse to the church of Parnes, composed by William de Merlerault, we know nothing of it but what we learn from Ordericus.[1]

35. *Life of St. Martial.*—The life of St. Martial, inserted by Ordericus in the second book of his history,[2] is an abridgment of the Acts of St. Martial, bearing the name of Aurelian, one of his disciples, which Thomas Beaulx-Amis printed in 1571, at the end of the Apostolical History of Abdias.[3]

36. *Translation of St. Nicholas.*—An account of the translation of the body of St. Nicholas to Bari, in 1087; was drawn up by John, archdeacon of that church.[4] What, doubtless, induced Ordericus to give such long extracts from this narrative,[5] was the circumstance of William Pantulf, one of the benefactors to St. Evroult, having undertaken a journey to Italy for the purpose of procuring some of the relics of the saint of Myra, which he deposited in the priory of Noron.[6] The details given in the Ecclesiastical History exhibit the astonishing rapidity with which the worship of this saint was propagated in the West, and especially in Normandy. There is still extant a tract, of the age of Ordericus, attesting the lively faith placed by our fathers in the merits of St. Nicholas. It contains an account of the miracles wrought by the saint's intercession; particularly in several churches of Normandy. This tract, composed by a monk of Bec, is preserved in the library of Evreux,[7] and some portions of it are to be found in that of Alençon. It deserves to be published.

37. *Life of St. Taurinus.*—One chapter in the fifth book is entirely devoted to the life of St. Taurinus. It is a faithful transcript of a more ancient Life, of which several

[1] Vol. i. 478, 479.
[2] Vol. i. 296—312.
[3] Pp. 154, &c.
[4] This little work has been published by Surius. [See M. Le Prevost's note, ii. 384.
[5] Vol. ii. 384—394.
[6] Vol. ii. 211, 396.
[7] MS. No. 132. The same volume contains the work of John de Bari.

versions are extant;[1] but it would be superfluous to offer any remarks upon it after the able work of M. Lenormant.

38. *Acts of councils.*—Ordericus gives us the text of the decrees made by different councils in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[2] Without him, we should not even have known the existence of several of these assemblies. Nothing can better prove the confidence we may place in the text of the documents which he has transmitted to us, than the fact that the canons of the council [synod] of Lillebonne, given in the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical History,[3] correspond with the original act, under the seal of William the Conqueror, preserved among the archives of the empire.[4] The decrees of the council of Clermont inserted in the ninth book[5] were obtained from an act which we find rather incorrectly copied in a manuscript belonging to the library of Alençon.[6]

39. *Archives of the abbey.*—In compiling the history of his abbey and the priories depending upon it, Ordericus has drawn largely on the archives of the monastery. He often confines himself to making transcripts of the charters or records of the endowments.[7] Of these archives, we still possess some valuable relics, which enable us to test the historian's correctness. For instance, among the archives

[1] One of these versions was published by the Bollandists, August. ii. 639, &c.; another by M. Lenormant, under the title of *Découverte d'un Cimetière Mérovingien à la chapelle St. Eloi* (Paris, 1854, 8vo.), after the MS., Latin 989, in the Imperial Library.

[2] [Synods] of Rouen, in 1072, ii. 61; of Lillebonne in 1080, ii. 124; Council of Clermont in 1095, iii. 63; [Synod] of Rouen in 1096, iii. 69; Council of Rheims in 1119, iv. 1; [Synod] of Rouen in 1128, iv. 29.

[3] Vol. ii. 184.

[4] *Trésor des Chartes, Normandie,* No. 1, carton J. 210.

[5] Vol. iii. 64, 65.

[6] This manuscript, No. 10 of the library at Alençon, formerly 72 at St. Evroult, is a small folio on parchment of 124 leaves. The writing is of the twelfth century. It contains sixteen articles, mostly lives and passions of saints. We find, however, among the rest:—

No. 1. The Hexameron of St. Ambrose.

4. A terier of the rents of St. Evroult in Englaud.

5 and 6. A fragment of Priscian, and fragments of grammar.

7. Verses on the death of Charlemagne.

10 A treatise on the seven arts; published by M. Ravaisson, *Rapports,* p. 404.

[7] See the General Index, at the word *Charters.*

of the department of the Orne is the original charter of Fulk, son of Gerard, inserted in the fifth book.[1] A roll of the same age, which has been kindly communicated to me by M. Jules Boullé, formerly a student in the School of Charters, contains a piece which Ordericus has copied literally in the chapter devoted to the biography of Robert de Rhuddlan.[2] A chartulary, recently obtained for the Imperial Library, also puts us in possession of several records which perfectly agree with many passages in the Ecclesiastical History.[3]

Ordericus cannot be supposed to have neglected the Obituaries. There can be no doubt about it, when we find him so often giving the precise day of a person's death, though without fixing the year. Unfortunately, we have neither the Obituary used by the monks of St. Evroult during the twelfth century, nor the long Roll inscribed with the names of the faithful departed who were associated in their prayers.[4] The deficiency is supplied, to a certain extent, by an Obituary written in the thirteenth century,[5] and an account of the conventual establishments, of a date as early as the first half of the twelfth century.[6]

40. *Various Poems.*—It is difficult to imagine what a flood of poetry the most trifling occurrences drew from the Latin poets of the twelfth century. One is almost tempted to believe that Ordericus made a collection of these fugitive pieces. He mentions [or quotes] a considerable number, which are now either lost or little known. They are enumerated in the following list:—

Verses of a "modern poet" on the parable of the householder who had paid the labourers in his vineyard.[7]

Poem of Guy, bishop of Amiens, on the battle of Hastings:[8]

[1] Vol. ii. 504, 505.

[2] Vol. ii. 443.

[3] This chartulary, 2 vols. in 4to. (No. 185 in the class of chartularies), was written in the thirteenth century. There is another chartulary of St. Evroult (No. 166 in the same class) in the Imperial Library, also written in the thirteenth century, but much less curious. [Several of these charters are printed as an appendix to vol. v. of the edition of Ordericus, Paris, 1855.]

[4] Vol. i. 447, 469.

[5] Imp. Lib., Suppl. Lat. No. 801, fol. 1. See before, p. xxxii.

[6] *Ibid.* fol. 77 v°. and 81.

[7] Vol. i. 40, 41.

[8] Vol. i. 492; ii. 17

the same, probably, which M. Francisque Michel has published from a manuscript in the library at Brussels.[1]

Book of the Wonders of the world.[2]

A poem of St. Anselm, on Lanfranc;[3] published by Mabillon.[4]

A sort of satire composed by Giroie Grossif,[5] and addressed to Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux.[6]

Poem of Blittero the Fleming, on the emperor Henry IV. or Henry V.[7]

Poem of Paganus Bolotinus, canon of Chartres.[8] It is written in Adonic verse, and intitled, "*Versus de falsis heremitis qui vagando discurrunt.*" There is a copy in the Imperial Library.[9]

Verses of Regnald, bishop of Langres.[10]

Verses of Peter Leo, on Urban II. and the anti-pope Guibert.[11]

Anonymous verses on Urban II.[12]

Lines on the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef*.[13]

In this list I have not comprised the Epitaphs preserved in such great numbers in the Ecclesiastical History.[14] In giving one of these, Ordericus makes a remark which may serve to account for the multiplicity of epitaphs we find in the twelfth century. It is this: On the death of any person of note, a sort of poetical contest was instituted, and the best piece was selected for the official epitaph, and painted or engraved on the tomb.[15]

[1] "Anglo-Norman Chronicles," iii. 1—38.
[2] Vol. ii. 439.
[3] Vol. ii. 465.
[4] *Acta*, sec. vi. part ii. p. 659.
[5] Or Grossin, according to a reading supplied by the MS. of La Porte du Theil, v. 215.
[6] Vol. ii. 479.
[7] Vol. ii. 480.
[8] Vol. iii. 48.
[9] MS. Latin, No. 8433, fol. 112.
[10] Vol. iii. 40.
[11] Vol. iii. 193, 194.
[12] Vol. iii. 194.
[13] Vol. iv. 38, 39.
[14] See the General Index, at the word *Epitaph*.
[15] Vol. iii. 413.

with notes, and afterwards to the abbey of St. Ouen. Two volumes, in folio, on paper; each volume of 494 pages. The writing of the 16th century. The first volume contains Books VI.—X., the second, Books XI.—XIII. In Books VII. and VIII., there are the same omissions as in the manuscripts of Bigot, Mareste d'Alge, and Baluze. These details have been communicated to me by M. Charles de Baurepaire, keeper of the archives of la Seine-Inferieure.

10. *Manuscript of Berne.*—(Library of Berne, No. 555, in quarto. I borrow the description of this manuscript, which I have not seen, from J. R. Sinner.[1]

"A manuscript on parchment, formerly belonging to Bongarsius; of the 15th century. Odorici, sc. Orderici Vitalis, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, lib. IX.—XIII. It was published by Duchesne. He lived, as he tells us himself, in the reign of Stephen, king of England, about the year 1141, when his history ends. See Fabricius and others. Antony Page, quoted by Fabricius, affirms that but few manuscripts of Ordericus are extant. Ordericus being an Englishman by birth, his history contains many details of affairs in England; and he is reckoned one of the most eminent writers of his age."

11. *Manuscript of Glanfeuil.*—In 1717, Charles du Jardin, prior of St. Evroult,[2] mentioned two volumes of Ordericus preserved in the abbey of Glenfeuil. I have not been able to discover what has become of them.

12. *Manuscript of St. Taurinus.*—(Imp. lib., anc. fonds Latin, No. 4861, formerly 5217, 2, Bigot, No. 185.) This manuscript belonged to St. Taurinus of Evreux, and, perhaps, was executed in the abbey of Fécamp. In folio, parchment, 159 leaves. The writing of the time of Philip Augustus. It contains three passages from Ordericus: 1, (fol. 123), the synod of Lillebonne; 2, (fol. 124), the synod of Rouen; 3, (fol. 124, v.), the origin of the order of Citeaux, &c. I shall not dwell on this volume, which is accurately described in the printed catalogue of the manuscripts in the Imperial

[1] *Catalogus codicum MSS. bibliothecæ Bernensis*, iii. 546.

[2] See the remarks of M. Dubois in M. Guizot's *Notice*, vol. i. of this work, p. xiii.; also *Biographie Universelle*, xxxii. 57.

library (iv. 9). I will only remark, that it omits any notice in fol 127 of some extracts from a tract of Hamelin de Verulam, a disciple of Lanfranc, of which Martene[1] has published some fragments. This piece is followed (fol. 129, v.) by some verses, the most curious of which are, on the cocks of church towers, and on unworthy pastors.

In the 16th century William Vallin, a monk of St. Evroult,[2] and Lacroix du Maine,[3] formed the intention of having the work of Ordericus Vitalis printed; but neither the one nor the other was able to realize the design.

The first edition of the Ecclesiastical History was not published till 1619, when Andrew Duchesne printed it in his collection, intitled, *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores* (pp. 321—392). Duchesne made use of the manuscripts of St. Evroult, St. Stephen of Caen, and Bigot.

Dom Bessin, known by his collection of the councils of Normandy, intended, at the beginning of the 18th century, to publish a new edition of Duchesne's collection: Charles du Jardin, prior of St. Evroult, assisted him in settling the text of Ordericus Vitalis; but the undertaking failed.[4] The library of Rouen is in possession of the transcript executed by the copyists employed by Duchesne, and on which Dom Bessin made his notes.

The continuators of Dom Bouquet have inserted in their collection the greatest part of the Ecclesiastical History. Tome IX., pp. 10—18, contains extracts from Books I., III., V., VI. and VII.; tome X., pp. 234—236, extracts of Books I., III., and VII.; tome XI., pp. 221—248, extracts from Books I., III., IV., V., VI., and VII.; tome XII., pp. 585—770, extracts from Books I., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., and XIII. The manuscripts of St. Evroult, St. Ouen, and the Queen of Sweden, were employed for this edition.

Some fragments of Ordericus were comprised in the

[1] *Thes. Anecd.*, v. 1453.

[2] See before, p. lxxxvi., and M. Guizot's *Notice*, vol. i. p. xiii.

[3] See the *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, xii. 203.

[4] *Hist. Litteraire de la Congregation de St. Maur*, 481; and *Biographie Universelle*, xxxii. 55.

extracts from Duchesne's collection, published in 1807 by M. Francis Maseres.[1]

In 1825 appeared a French translation of the Ecclesiastical History, in the *Collection des Memoires relatifs a l'Histoire de France*, published by M. Guizot. The translation was made by M. Louis Dubois, who, at first, intended to give an edition of the Latin text, revised from the manuscripts, as he announced in 1822 in the *Biographie Universelle*.[2]

In 1853 and 1854, M. Thomas Forester published the three first volumes of an English translation of the Ecclesiastical History (*The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, by *Ordericus Vitalis, translated*, with notes, and the Introduction of Guizot, by Thomas Forester, M.A.; London, Bohn, 1853 and 1854, in 12mo.); one volume has still to appear. This translation is made from the text of the edition of the *Societé de l'Histoire de France.*

While these Remarks were in the press, M. l'Abbé Migne has published the 148th volume of his *Patrologie*, which contains the work of Ordericus Vitalis. It would appear from the preliminary notice, that this edition is only a reproduction of the texts of Duchesne and Dom Bouquet.

Valognes, April 10, 1855. L. D.

P.S. The suggestions which M. Le Prevost has been kind enough to offer me, during the printing of this *Notice*, have afforded me signal aid in the accomplishment of my task. At the same time, typographical exigences have not always permitted me to profit by observations, the justice of which it was impossible to deny. In giving expression to this regret, I cannot forbear quoting the letter in which M. Le Prevost brings into view one aspect of the character of Ordericus Vitalis, which I have too much left in the shade. After administering a friendly rebuke for my not having sufficiently directed attention to the merit of certain historical compositions of the very highest order, such as the

[1] "Historiæ Anglicanæ circa tempus conquestus Angliæ," &c. London, 1807, 4to.

[2] Vol. xxxii. 57. [And see a note in M. Guizot's *Notice*, vol. i. p. xii. of this edition.]

life of Peter de Maule, the last Moments of William the Conqueror, the death of Thierri de Mathonville, and that of Serlo, bishop of Séez, my accomplished master, adds:—

". . . . . Our author most excels in pourtraying the inspirations of religious faith—of a faith both fervent and pure, and sometimes even enlightened—just as they existed in his own bosom. I think that no preceding writer, none of his cotemporaries, nor even of his successors, have better drawn the character of the true Christian. Elsewhere, he too often falls into pedantry and exaggeration, and betrays his ignorance of political principles; but there he is on his own ground, and the inspiration flows from its source."

The Funeral Rolls[1] were also among the means through which new pieces of poetry came to the knowledge of Ordericus: he has transcribed in his work the verses which Adelelm, a monk of St. Germer, had inscribed on the roll of William de Ros, abbot of Fécamp.[2]

41. *Gesta Romanorum.*—There was extant in the Middle Ages a History of the Roman Emperors, which has probably perished long ago. Echoing the popular traditions, it made Julius Cæsar the founder of the principal cities of Gaul. Ordericus gives us a pretty clear insight into the nature of this species of romance: he had perused the exploits of Cæsar in what he calls the Acts of the Romans (*Antiqua Romanorum Gesta*;[3] *priscæ Quiritum Historiæ*).[4] Thence he drew the accounts of the sieges of Gacé and Exmes,[5] of the destruction of the capital of the Caletes,[6] of the defeat of the tyrant Rutubus,[7] and of the foundation of Lillebonne and Rouen.[8] It is perhaps also from the same compilation that Ordericus attributes to Constantine Chlorus the foundation of the city of Coutances;[9] and he is not the only historian of the twelfth century who gave credit to these fabulous narratives. John of Marmoutier,[10] and, more especially the author of the book on the foundation of the castle of Amboise,[11] have borrowed largely from the *Gesta Romanorum.* These traditions were not extinct in the fourteenth century, and Froissart[12] gave them vogue when describing "the strong and noble castle of Cherbourg, which Julius Cæsar first founded when he conquered England.

42. *Prophecies of Merlin.*—I shall add nothing to the able commentary of M. Le Prevost, on the chapter in the

[1] On these records, see the *Bibliothéque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* 2nd series, iii. 361, &c.
[2] Vol. iii. 414.
[3] Vol. ii. 130.
[4] Vol. iv. 20.
[5] Vol. ii. 276.
[6] Vol. ii. 130; iv. 21.
[7] Vol. iv. 22.
[8] Vol. ii. 130, 131; iv, 21, 22.
[9] Vol. ii. 139.
[10] *Historia Gaufridi, ducis Normanniæ,* ed. Bochel, pp. 112—114.
[11] D'Achery, *Spicil,* fol. ed., iii. 266.
[12] Book i. ii. c. 391, ed. of the Pantheon, i. 718.

twelfth book, containing one of the oldest texts we have of Merlin's prophecies.[1]

VII.

MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Ancient manuscripts of Ordericus Vitalis are exceedingly rare; or, to speak more correctly, there is only one extant, of which all the rest are copies. They can only serve therefore to supply passages which no longer exist in the original manuscript. I shall describe all that have come to my knowledge.

1. *Manuscript of St Evroult.*—In the state in which this MS. is now preserved in the Imperial Library, it forms two volumes, quarto, of which,

Vol. I., (No. 4207 D; 3761 de Colbert), contains the prologue, with Books I. and II. At the beginning it has this title, written in the hand of the thirteenth, perhaps even of the twelfth century, "The first part of Vitalis." At the end we find this notice: "In the year 1514, at a general chapter of St. Evroult, it was forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to alienate all or any of the old books [*libvres de viel opinion*].

Vol. II. (No. 4207, E; 3762 de Colbert), contains Books III., IV., V., and VI. At the beginning, there is written in a hand of the thirteenth century, "This book is from the chest at St. Evroult. The fourth part of Vitalis;" at the end, in writing of the fifteenth century: "Here ends the fourth part of Vitalis."

Vol. III., (Suppl. Lat. No. 1135). This volume was preserved as No. 125, in the library at St. Evroult till the suppression of the monastery. Having been temporarily deposited at Laigle, it was conveyed in 1799, by the care of M. Louis Dubois, to Alençon, where it remained till, in 1847, it was obtained for the Royal Library. The volume, of 502 pp., comprises the beginning of Book VII. to the words, "*Leoterico per consilium*," inclusively;[2] and Books IX., X.,

[1] Vol. iv. 97.

[2] Of this edition, vol. ii. p. 346, lines 25, 26.

XI., XII., and XIII. There are two chasms towards the end of the last book.[1]

This volume, III., represents in fact two volumes: one of these, of which only four leaves remain, contained Books VII. and VIII.; the other included the last five books. The old paging, marked in red ink at the back of the leaves, makes it plain that the prologue to Book VII. commenced a volume, and, consequently, Books VII. and VIII. formed a separate volume.

The manuscript which I am describing has no embellishments, but was executed with remarkable care and correctness; it belongs to the first half of the twelfth century, and appears in the old catalogue of the library of St. Evroult.[2] The age and the purity of this manuscript, and the knowledge we have of its antecedents, are not the only evidence in favour of its being considered the original document, containing the author's last touches, of the Ecclesiastical History. I have remarked in it, with my excellent master, M. Wailly, corrections affecting the substance of the narrative, such as no mere copyist would have made. There are blanks reserved to receive additions, passages re-written on places which had been erased, and in several titles new entries, showing, under the present paging, traces of the former numbers, which the insertion of Books I., II., and VII., required to be altered.[3] Besides, it is very easy to distinguish passages which the author added after the work was finished. Such are—a paragraph at the end of the first book, two lines at the end of the second, a prologue prefixed to the third, connecting it with the second, and the end of the sixth book. We may also remark the additions made in the margin of several leaves. All these particulars denote that this was the manuscript on which Ordericus worked when he gave his History the form under which we now possess it.

These considerations place it beyond doubt, that in the manuscript of St. Evroult we have the identical leaves on

[1] Vol. iv. p. 207, line 9 to p. 212, line 23, and also the whole of ch. xlv. pp. 222—225. The parts lost from the manuscript of St. Evroult are supplied from the text of the manuscript of M. Dupuy

[2] See before, p. xiv.

[3] See before, p. xliv.

which the Ecclesiastical History was originally penned. Whether the manuscript is the autograph of Ordericus, is a question more difficult to decide.[1]

Two passages have been quoted to prove that Ordericus did not write his History with his own hand, but dictated it to copyists. But, even admitting this to have been the case, we might still suppose that the author made a fair copy of what he had originally dictated. Let us see, however, whether the construction put on these passages be not forced. Take the first:

> Dum caute de his cogito,
> Et quædam chartis insero,
> Caute resistens otio,
> Sic dictans me exerceo.[2]

It appears to me that no such conclusion can be drawn from these verses, particularly when it is recollected that in the Middle Ages to *dictate*, was synonymous with, to compose.[3] In the second passage Ordericus complains of the obstacles which age presented to his labours; he could no longer write without fatigue, and he was in want of penmen to take down his words.[4] This passage needs no commentary. It does not, more than the former one, prevent our concluding that Ordericus wrote his own work.[5] It is, therefore, possible that we are in possession of the autograph manuscript. This opinion is confirmed in some degree by our finding that several articles in the Annals of St. Evroult, relating to the reign of Henry I.,[6] are traced by the same

[1] See vol. i. pp. 12—14.

[2] Vol. ii. 204.

> While on affairs I shrewdly muse,
> And some things on my parchment write,
> To yield to sloth I still refuse,
> And carefully my work indite.

[3] See Du Cange, at the word *Dictare*. Ordericus uses this word again in speaking of his master, John of Rheims (ii. 214). See also the passage in William de Jumièges, quoted before, p. lxvii,

[4] Vol. iii. 60.

[5] [Does not our author's language expressly convey the idea that he did write his work with his own hand, until the fatigue of his task, and increasing infirmities, rendered it necessary that he should resort to assistance, which unfortunately was not to be procured? See our notes on this passage, iii. 60.—Ed.]

[6] See before, p. lxiii.

hand as the Ecclesiastical History. I have also recognized the same handwriting in the manuscripts No. 14[1] and No. 6,[2] in the library at Alençon, containing Lives of Saints,—compositions highly esteemed by Ordericus[3]. Still, I would not positively affirm that the manuscript of which I am speaking was executed by the hand of Ordericus Vitalis.[4]

2. *Manuscript of St. Stephen of Caen, or the Queen of Sweden's.*—(Vatican Lib., section of the Queen of Sweden, No. 703.) This manuscript, a quarto of 49 leaves, in parchment, belonged to the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, and was transferred to Paris during the French Revolution. I am indebted for the description of this volume to my *confrère*, M. André Salmon. There is a copy of it in the Imperial Library (at Paris),[5] which La Porte du Theil brought from Rome at the close of the 18th century.

The Vatican manuscript contains the end of Book VII. of of the Ecclesiastical History, from the words, "In the year of our Lord 1084, the seventh indiction, when Henry was king of Germany,"[6] and also the whole of Book VIII. At the end of the MS. there are some notes of events in the

[1] This manuscript has been already described, p. x. note 6.

[2] MS. of Alençon, No. 6, formerly 88 of St. Evroult, a folio on parchment of 161 leaves, the writing of the twelfth century. This manuscript may be divided into two parts. The first, containing fol. 1—133, is perhaps older than the other. In several passages of the second, the hand employed on the MS. of the Ecclesiastical History may be recognized. See among others, fol. 134, 139 v°, &c., 150, &c. The volume contains:—

1 (fol. 1). St. Gregory's Homilies on Ezekiel.

2 (fol. 108). St. Jerom's Prologue on the Prophet Ezekiel; with the lives of St. Laumer and St. Odo, and the martyrdoms of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, and St. Peregrinus, bishop.

[3] "I would much prefer," he says, "to write about the histories and miracles of the saints," ii. 480.

[4] The Benedictine who, in 1582, drew up the catalogue of the manuscripts of St. Evroult (Imp. Lib., résidu St. Germain, paq. 166), makes this observation on the volume of Ordericus which belonged to the abbey of St. Evroult: "There are four volumes of Vitalis entered in the old catalogue of the library at St. Evroult, of which I regret this is the only one left. But, as that catalogue, which was made about the year 1140, contains this volume, written indeed with paler ink, but by the same hand, it is not improbable that it is the author's autograph, completed when he was near his end."

[5] Collection Du Thiel, *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de Rome*, vol. xvi.

[6] Vol. ii. 350.

years 1134—1147, and a Homily in honour of St. Michael, the archangel.

As Book VII., with the exception of the first eight leaves, and Book VIII., are wanting in the manuscript of St. Evroult, I should not be much surprised if the Vatican manuscript should prove to consist of some sheets detached from that of St. Evroult. Whether this conjecture be founded or not, the manuscript at Rome ought to furnish a correct text.

3. *Manuscript of St. Germain.*—(Imp. Lib. Fonds St. Germain Latin, No. 462, formerly 258). This volume was successively the property of Robert Tullone, of Laubespine-Goulet, first captain-commandant in the regiment of the Sieur de Cheronnes (1591)—of Goulet, canon of Chartres, of the chancellor Séguier, and of Coislin, bishop of Metz. It is a parchment folio, of 150 leaves; the writing, in two columns, is of the sixteenth century, and imitates Roman printed letters; the initials are coloured. The manuscript contains the two first books of Ordericus. Book II., is in two parts: the first, from the beginning as far as the life of St. Martial, inclusively, is rubricked: "F. Orderici Vitalis, liber secundus, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ de actibus apostolorum;" the last part, comprising the history of the popes: "Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, Orderici Vitalis, monachi Ebrulfiani, liber tertius." Prefixed to the volume is an epistle addressed to Felix de Brie, abbot of Evroult,[1] by the monk William Vallin, who had prepared an edition of Ordericus Vitalis.

4. *Manuscript of Sir Thomas Phillipps.*—(Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., at Middlehill, No. 1836.) This manuscript, which probably belonged to the college of the Jesuits of Clermont, at Paris, is thus noticed in the catalogue published by the learned English biblio. "Ordericus Vitalis, vell. s. xv."

There is this short description of it in the catalogue of Meerman's manuscripts:[2]

"No. 723: Books IV., V., VI., and VII., of the Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis, with an index. In parts,

[1] At the head are emblazoned the arms of Brie; on a shield *vaire argent* and *azure*, a lion rampant *gules*.

[2] Page 125.

sect. xv. fol. 100; in two columns, the initial letters in gold."

The correctness of these details is confirmed by a letter, under date of the 24th February, 1855, which M. Thomas Forester has been kind enough to address to me.[1]

I am inclined to believe that this volume belongs to the same copy as the preceding [No. 3], and the one I shall next mention, and that it contains books III.—VI.

5. *Manuscript de Ménars.*—(Imp. Lib. Collection Dupuy, No. 875.) This is one of the volumes which the president de Ménars added to the collection of Dupuy. Every one knows that this collection, purchased in 1720 by Joly de Fleury, was transferred to the king in 1754. The manuscript is a parchment folio of 118 leaves. The writing is in two columns, of the 16th century, imitating Roman printed characters, with the initials coloured. This volume, which had formerly the title "Orderici Vitalis Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, tertia pars," contains the text of the five last books, probably prepared by Vallin. Instead of being numbered IX.—XIII., as in the editions, these five books are numbered VIII.—XII. At the end there is a little table of contents, as in the manuscript of Sir Thomas Phillipps. I have already

[1] [As far as I have been able to ascertain, Sir Thomas Phillipps's is the only manuscript of Ordericus Vitalis in the English libraries. Sir Thomas having favoured me with a fuller description, it may be added to the details given by M. Delisle of the foreign manuscripts.

"My MS. of Ordericus Vitalis came from the Jesuits' College of Clermont at Paris, and passed from their library about 1762 to Baron Meerman at the Hague, and from thence into mine in 1824.

"It is a folio, about fourteen inches by ten, bound in white vellum, and contains just one hundred written leaves of vellum. The initial letters are illuminated, and at the commencement of each book they are much larger than the rest. The manuscript contains only four books, viz., IV., V., VI., VII. At the end is an index of matters, persons, and places. At fol. 52 there are these words: *Vitalis monachi origo et instructio.*

"The manuscript is beautifully written in imitation of printing, and at first view you might deem it to have been written in Italy; but I am inclined to think it was written in France or Flanders, in the printed character which, I believe, was common in the latter part of the fifteenth, and the first part of the sixteenth century, and of which I have several other specimens. A red rubricked running-title heads every leaf, and the headings of every book and chapter are rubricked, as well as the colophon of each book. This MS. was formerly No. 652 in the Jesuits' of Clermont catalogue."—*Ed.*]

observed that these two volumes must have formed part of the copy employed by Vallin.

6. *Manuscript of Bigot.*—(Imp. lib., ancien fonds Latin, No. 5122, formerly 4207, 3; No. 180, de Bigot). In folio, on paper, 620 leaves. Writing of the 16th century, perhaps of the year 1536.[1] This manuscript contains the entire work of Ordericus, except the end of Book VII., from the words, "great power,"[2] and the whole of Book VIII.

7. *Manuscript of Mareste d'Alge.*—(Imp. lib., anc. fonds Latin, No. 5123, formerly 4207 A, and 4207 B; No. 760, de Colbert.) This is incontestably the copy which appears in the list of the manuscripts of M. Mareste d'Alge, and was sent by the first president Pelot, in 1677, to the library of Colbert; for, on the first leaf of the two volumes, the signature of the president Mareste d'Alge may still be decyphered, although it has been carefully erased. The manuscript is in two volumes, folio, on paper, of 340 and 342 leaves, not including the tables. The writing is of the 16th century, perhaps of the year 1539.[3] It appears to be a transcript of Bigot's manuscript, and has the same omissions. In the margins some articles are added from the Annals of Rouen. At the end of the second volume there are two charters of Henry I., king of England, in favour of the canons of Bayeux, taken from the *Liber Andegavinus.*

8. *Manuscript of Baluze.*—(Imp. lib., anc. fonds Latin, No. 5124, formerly 4207, 3.3, and 4207, 3.3.3; No. 184 de *Baluz*). Two volumes, in folio, on paper. The writing of the 16th century. The end of book VII., all book VIII., and two or three leaves, containing the end of book XIII., are wanting. The copyist has omitted parts which did not concern the history of Normandy, and were collected by Ordericus from former writers.[4]

9. *Manuscript of St. Ouen at Rouen.*—(Library of Rouen, No. 3, 4, of the manuscripts relating to Normandy.) This manuscript belonged first to P. Groulart, who enriched it

[1] See the note on the back of fol. 301.
[2] Vol. ii. 350.
[3] Sect. ii. f. 40.
[4] On this MS. see M. Léchaudé, *Extrait des chartes du Calvados,* ii. 458.

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

BOOK XII.

Ch. XXI. *The council of Rheims—The pope's visit to the emperor—Proceedings of the council—The decrees.*

In the middle of October Pope Calixtus came to Rheims[1] with the cardinals of the Roman church, and staying there fifteen days held a council,[2] in which he concerted measures with the shepherds of the Lord's flock for the good of the church. There were assembled at Rheims fifteen archbishops, more than two hundred bishops, with many abbots and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. These prelates, summoned by an apostolical precept from Italy and Germany, France and Spain, Brittany and England, the islands of the Ocean, and all the provinces of the West, met together for the love of the Saviour, and ready to pay a willing obedience to his commands. The archbishop of Mayence[3] hastened to be present at the council of Rheims, accompanied by seven bishops; and an escort of five hundred men-at-arms watched over their safety during the journey. The pope

[1] The reader's attention is particularly called to the account of the council of Rheims given by our author in this chapter. The proceedings are described in such detail, and with so much fidelity, that there is reason to believe he was present himself, perhaps in attendance on his superior, the abbot of St. Evroult.

[2] The council was opened on the 20th October, 1119, and closed on the 30th. The pope arrived at Rheims on the 19th October, went to Mouzon on the 22nd, returned to Rheims on the 26th, and staid there until the 10th November.

[3] Albert, or Aldebert, the first archbishop of Mayence of that name, was the son of Sigebert, count of Saarbruch. (1109—14th July, 1137.)

received the intelligence of their near approach with lively joy, and sent Hugh, count of Troyes,[1] to meet and congratulate them, at the head of some troops of horse.

The king of England permitted the prelates of his kingdom to attend the council,[2] but positively forbade their bringing before it any sort of grievance; for he said to the bishops: "I will render full justice to every one who prefers a complaint to me, in my own land; I discharge yearly the payments paid by my predecessors to the Roman church, but at the same time I maintain the privileges which were granted in ancient times and belong to me. Go then, and salute our lord the pope on my behalf, and listen with humility to the apostolical precepts, but see that no superfluous novelties are introduced into my kingdom."[3]

The council was held in the metropolitan church. There the pope celebrated mass on the fourteenth of the calends of November,[4] and consecrated Thurstan of Bayeux archbishop of York,[5] conferring on him the privilege of not being

[1] Hugh I., count of Champagne, the eldest brother of Stephen, Count de Blois, made three pilgrimages to the Holy Land, where he ended his days in the habit of a Knight Templar.

[2] Florence of Worcester informs us that only the bishops of Exeter, Durham, St. David's, and Llandaff, who were then in Normandy, attended the council, and they arrived late. The archbishop of Canterbury was prevented, it is said, by illness from being present.

[3] An injunction worthy of an English king, but Henry's policy and personal ambition did not permit him to act up to it; and we shall presently find him on good terms with Calixtus after a flagrant invasion of the liberties of the English church.

[4] Sunday, 19th October.

[5] This consecration, obtained, Florence of Worcester states, by bribing "the Romans," involved questions of the greatest importance. Thurstan, who was the eldest brother of Ouen, bishop of Bayeux, after having been chaplain to Henry, was elevated to the archbishopric of York as long before as 1113, but, like most of his predecessors, he refused to submit to the primacy of the see of Canterbury, rather than which he was ready to relinquish his preferment, and deferred his consecration. With some difficulty, as Florence of Worcester and Roger of Wendover inform us, he obtained the king's licence to attend the council of Rheims, but under a solemn promise that he would not accept consecration from the pope. Henry had also sent to Calixtus requesting him not to consecrate Thurstan, and had received a reply which it is at least very difficult to reconcile with his subsequent conduct. The king was so incensed at the double breach of the pledges thus given, that he prohibited Thurstan from returning to England, or residing in any part of his continental dominions.

subject to the metropolitan see of Canterbury, but of holding equal rank in his own province. On the Sunday following, the pope consecrated to the bishopric of Liege, Frederick, brother of Herman, count of Namur.[1] This prelate died within three years from poison given him by his rivals, and his sanctity is now rendered conspicuous by the splendid miracles wrought at his tomb.

On the twelfth of the calends of November [21st October[2]], the chairs of the bishops were placed in the church of St. Mary the virgin, before the crucifix, and the several metropolitans took their seats in the order of precedence to which they were entitled according to the ancient decrees of the Roman popes. Ralph, surnamed Le Vert, archbishop of Rheims,[3] Leothric archbishop of Bourges, Thirstan archbishop of York, Humbert archbishop of Lyons, and Geoffrey archbishop of Rouen, Daimbert archbishop of Sens, Gilbert archbishop of Tours, and his successor, Hildebert of Mans,[4] Baudri archbishop of Dol, and eight other archbishops, with their suffragans, and the deputies of those who were absent, as well as many abbots and a great concourse of monks and clergy composed this assembly, prefiguring the last judgment, in reference to which Isaiah, in the spirit of prophecy and as it were pointing to it with his finger, exclaimed in the fulness of his awe and exultation: "The Lord will come to judgment with the elders of his people and the princes thereof."[5]

The apostolical throne was placed on a raised platform facing the doors of the church; and when mass had ended Pope Calixtus took his seat upon it, having before

[1] Frederick, the second son of Albert, count of Namur. He died by poison on the 30th June, 1120, or the 27th March, 1121.

[2] We think that our author has made a mistake of a day, and that the council was not actually opened till Monday, October 20. It sat in the nave of the cathedral, from the great crucifix at the entrance of the choir to the west door.

[3] He is mentioned before, b. viii. c. 20 (vol. iii. p. 5, of this edition), where a literal error in the archbishop's surname crept into the text. It is correctly spelt in the note.

[4] Gilbert did not die till 1124, and it was not till some months afterwards that he was replaced by Hildebert, bishop of Mans, so that if, as our author states, he took his seat at the council among the archbishops, it was only by courtesy.

[5] Isaiah iii. 14.

him the cardinals from Rome, in the first rank; namely Conon bishop of Prœneste, Boson bishop of Porto, Lambert bishop of Ostia, John of Crema,[1] and Haton bishop of Viviers.[2] These cardinals discussed all questions with more address than any other member of the council, and their extensive learning admirably fitted them for making full replies. The deacon Chrysogonus, wearing a dalmatic, stood near the pope, with the volume of the canons in his hand, ready to cite from it the authentic decrees of the fathers of the church as occasion required. Six other deacons, wearing tunics or dalmatics, stood around, and imposed silence when, as often occurred, the dissentients pressed their arguments with disorderly vehemence.

First however, as soon as the litany and public prayers were ended, the pope began to explain in a Latin discourse, with great simplicity and piety the gospel in which Jesus commanded his disciples to go before him to the other side of the sea of Galilee.[3] On this he eloquently commented, showing that as when the evening came the wind was contrary, so the ship of the holy church is exposed to peril in the waves of this troublesome world, and tossed with the storms of trials and tribulations of various kinds; but, notwithstanding, at our Lord's approach, the furious blasts of the wicked are suddenly calmed, and the children of peace are restored to the state of tranquillity which is the object of their desires. The pope having concluded his sermon, the cardinal-archbishop, Conon, rose and gave an eloquent admonition to the reverend abbots on their pastoral duties.

[1] John of Crema was not bishop, but a native, of that city. A further notice of this person will be found in the course of the present chapter.

[2] Atton, or Hatton, bishop of Viviers. Notwithstanding the eminent qualities of this prelate, and the important part he took in several councils, the information we possess respecting him is very scanty. All we can add to what is said of him by our author in a subsequent part of this chapter is, that he was named to the episcopal see of Viviers (Ardèche) in 1117; that in the month of October in the same year he assisted at a council in Rome; that on February 27, 1119, he had the honour to entertain Pope Calixtus XVII., his former metropolitan, when he consecrated his cathedral of St. Vincent at Viviers; and then in 1124 we find him succeeded by Jaucerand, or Gaucerand, the first bishop of Viviers of that name.

[3] Mark vi. 45; perhaps the gospel for the day.

Quoting the words of Jacob from the book of Genesis,[1] he declared that the prelates of the church ought to exercise the same diligence in the care of the Lord's flock in spiritual things which Jacob exhibited in his management of the sheep of his uncle Laban.

King Lewis now entered the council, attended by the chief lords of France, and ascending the platform where the pope was seated in state above the rest of the assembly, he opened his complaint and supported it by reasonable arguments. The king was fluent of speech, his face was pale,[2] and he was tall in stature and corpulent. "I come," he said, "to this sacred council, with my barons, to demand inquiry and advice; and I pray you, my lord pope, and you, fathers, to listen to what I have to say. The king of England, with whom I have been long in alliance, has inflicted many serious injuries on me and my subjects. He has seized Normandy, a fief of my crown, with force and arms; and contrary to all right and reason has treated Robert, the duke of Normandy, in a most scandalous manner. For although the duke was my vassal, and his own brother and liege-lord, after molesting him in every sort of way, at last he made him prisoner, and has detained him in a long captivity to the present day. See how he has disinherited and driven into hopeless exile William, the duke's son and heir apparent, who now presents himself to this assembly in my company. I have sent bishops and counts, and other suitable persons to claim from the king of England the restoration of the captive duke, but I have obtained no satisfaction from him in this affair. He caused to be arrested in his own court,[3] Robert de Belèsme, the envoy who was entrusted by me to convey my message to him, and put him in fetters in a cruel dungeon, where he is confined to this hour. Count Theobald[4] is my vassal, but

[1] See Genesis xxix. and xxx.

[2] This pallor was the effect of the poison which had been administered to Lewis through the means of his step-mother Beltrade. See vol. iii. p. 354.

[3] At Bonneville-sur-Touque. See vol. iii. p. 442. The choice of Robert de Belèsme for this mission to his suzerain, already irritated against him, was not a happy one.

[4] Theobald, Count de Blois.

at his uncle's instigation he has iniquitously revolted from me, and, supported by his wealth and power, has taken up arms, and, breaking his fealty, engaged in atrocious hostilities against me, and troubled my kingdom to the detriment of many persons. He seized, and to this day keeps in prison, William Count de Nevers,[1] a good and loyal man, whom you well know, as he was returning from the siege of a castle belonging to an excommunicated robber, which he made a real den of thieves and devil's dyke. The reverend prelates had justly opposed the enterprises of Thomas de Marle,[2] who made plundering expeditions through the whole province. They therefore engaged me to besiege this common enemy of pilgrims and all honest folk, and uniting with the barons of France to put down the outlaws, raising *en masse* the whole Christian population to engage in the contest with godly zeal. It was in returning peaceably from this siege, with my permission, that this lord was made prisoner, and he is still kept in captivity by Count Theobald, although many nobles have from time to time earnestly besought him, on my part, to liberate the count; and all his territories have been laid under excommunication by the bishops."

The king, having made these statements and others of the like sort, which were confirmed by the allegations of all the French who were present at the council, Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, with his suffragan bishops and abbots, rose, and began to rebut the charges and advocate the cause of the king of England. But he was interrupted by the clamours of the opposite party, and could not obtain a hearing; for a great number of adversaries were present, who took umbrage at his defence of the victorious prince.

[1] William II., Count de Nevers. It was in 1116 that he had been made prisoner by the count de Blois, while he was returning from an expedition against Thomas de Marle, undertaken at the instance of Lewis-le-Gros.

[2] Thomas I. de Marle, Count d'Amiens, Baron de Boves, and Sire de Couci, by the grace of God. The domain of Marle, of which he bore the name during the life of his father Enguerrand de Couci, came to the family through Ada de Marle, countess of Rouci, his mother. He joined the first crusade, and distinguished himself at the sieges of Nice and Jerusalem. Notwithstanding this, he was a very bad man, and especially a cruel enemy of the monks.

Meanwhile, Hildegarde, countess of Poictiers,[1] came forward with her attendants, and eloquently pleaded her cause, speaking loud and very distinctly; and the whole council listened to her complaint with deep attention. She stated that she had been repudiated by her husband, who had taken to his bed, in defiance of her marriage rights, Malberge, the wife of the viscount of Châtellerault;[2] and the pope having inquired whether William count of Poictiers had come to the council according to his order, a young prelate, William, bishop of Saintes, and several other bishops and abbots from Aquitaine, stood up and excused their duke, alleging that he had set out on his journey to attend the council, but had fallen sick and was detained on the road. It ended in the pope's admitting the excuse of the count's illness, adjourning the case, and appointing a certain day on which the count should appear and plead to the charge in the papal court, and either take back his lawful wife, or undergo the sentence of excommunication for having unjustly repudiated her.

Next, Ouen the Bearded,[3] bishop of Evreux, preferred a charge against Amalric, for having shamefully expelled him from his see, and abominably burnt his episcopal residence. Thereupon, Amalric's chaplain immediately started up, and had the insolence to meet the accusation by loudly and publicly asserting in the presence of the whole assembly, that the bishop was a liar. "It was not by Amalric," he said, "but by your own iniquity, that you were justly expelled and your palace burnt. He indeed, having been disinherited by the king through your false and malicious intrigues, recovered the territories that were his own, like a

[1] Hildegarde was the second wife of William VII., count of Poictiers, a nobleman distinguished for his profligacy. His first wife, Philippa, separated from him, and retired to Fontevrault, in 1116. The result of Hildegarde's appeal is not known.

[2] Aimeri, Viscount de Châtellerault, had, in 1109, a wife named Dangerosa, and there is no record of a second marriage with Mauberge. It was probably the portrait of this lady that the count of Poictiers wore on his breastplate.

[3] This prelate suffered his beard to grow as a sign of mourning. See vol. ii. p. 461. He had nothing to reply to the charge of falsehood made against him by Amalric's chaplain, and his imprudent appeal to the council could only expose him to humiliation.

brave knight, by the power of his arms and the support of his friends. Thereupon, the king laid siege to the city at the head of large bodies of his troops, and by your order set the place on fire, and burnt to the ground all the churches and houses. This holy synod will perceive and judge whether Ouen or Amalric deserves most condemnation for the burning of the churches."

As the French took the side of Amalric against the Normans, a violent altercation ensued between them, but, silence being at length obtained, the pope spoke as follows:

"My dearly beloved: do not, I pray you, multiply words, and contend to no purpose, but as God's children strive to the utmost to maintain peace. The Son of God, we know, descended from heaven to bring peace on earth, and in his mercy took a human body in the womb of the immaculate Virgin Mary, in order to allay the mortal conflict which originated in the sin of our first parent, and restore through his mediation peace between God and man, and reconcile the angelic with human nature. It is the bounden duty of us who are his vicars on earth to follow his steps in all things. As the ministers and stewards of the dispensations of God, we must endeavour to promote the peace and welfare of all his members; for I call Christian people the members of Christ, inasmuch as he has redeemed them with his precious blood. Amidst the tumults of war and the troubles of the world, who can give himself up worthily to spiritual contemplations, or meditate as he ought on the love of the Lord? Hostile movements distract and loosen the ties of the people, and drive them to wander and fall headlong to destruction in the gulf of sin. The churches are violated, sacred things polluted, and all sorts of iniquities abound. The clergy are grievously harassed, and called off from religious pursuits in a variety of ways. Those who are steadfast in the worship of God are filled with alarms, are exposed to cruel persecutions, and become faint-hearted, not knowing what to do. Regular discipline is interrupted and dissolved, and those who are set free are hurried into all sorts of crimes. Ecclesiastical rigour is relaxed, a fatal dissolution takes place every where, and modesty and chastity are lamentably exposed. The fury of the wicked stalks abroad without shame, and numbers of sinners are daily

swept into perdition. We ought therefore on all occasions to embrace fervently what we plainly see to be the nurse of all good people, to preserve it incessantly, to enjoin it on all, to preach it both by word and example. Christ himself, when his passion was near, bequeathed it to his disciples, saying: 'Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you.' When he rose again from the dead, he again reminded them of it, saying: 'Peace be unto you.' Where peace reigns there is great quiet and tranquillity, while sorrow and tribulation harass and torment all who are corroded by anger and stimulated by discord. Peace is the gentle and kindly tie of those who dwell together, the common good of all rational creatures. The inhabitants of heaven rejoice in their indissoluble union in this bond, and mortals are in constant need of being thus united, for without it the wicked both fear and are feared, and being never secure, are in trouble and grief.

"This virtue then which I earnestly covet, and, from the authority of the Holy Scriptures and considerations of general utility, highly commend, I shall use my utmost endeavours to search out, and to propagate, by God's help, throughout his church. I enjoin the observance of the Truce of God, as Pope Urban, of blessed memory, decreed it at the council of Clermont; and I confirm by the authority of God, St. Peter the Apostle, and all the saints, the other decrees which were there sanctioned by the holy fathers. The emperor of Germany has invited me to meet him at the castle of Mouzon,[1] and make peace with him to the advantage of holy mother church. I shall therefore proceed there to labour for peace, taking with me my brothers, the bishops of Rheims and Rouen, and some others of my brethren and fellow bishops, who I think may be of especial service in this treaty. I command all other bishops and abbots to wait our return, which by God's help shall be as speedy as possible. I enjoin then all to remain in attendance here, nor do I even permit Geoffrey, abbot of St. Theodoric,[2] to

[1] Mouzon stands on the river Meuse, near Sedan, in the Ardennes.

[2] Saint-Thiery, eight leagues from Rheims. There were former relations between the pope and this abbey; William, who was abbot of it in 1117, having given him important assistance in founding the abbey of Bonneval, the first house of the Cistercian order in Dauphiny.

depart, although his monastery is very near this city. Pray for us, that our Lord God would vouchsafe to grant us a prosperous journey, and mercifully overrule all our efforts for the peace and welfare of the universal church.

"On my return, I will carefully discuss all your complaints and arguments, God helping me, in the best manner I can, that this holy assembly may be dismissed, and return home with peace and joy. After that, I will go to the king of England, my spiritual son, and also my cousin by the ties of consanguinity,[1] and by my entreaties and exhortations will engage him and Count Theobald, his nephew, with the others who are at variance, to do justice to all the world, and to receive the same from all in the love of God; and, having made peace according to God's law, refrain from all hostile enterprises, and rejoice in peace and security, with the people under their rule. As for those who refuse to yield to my remonstrances and obstinately persevere in their unruly course, against all right and the public peace, I will inflict on them the terrible sentence of excommunication, unless they repent of their wickedness and make satisfaction for their past crimes according to the canons." Having said this, the assembly of the faithful was dissolved.

On the morrow, being Wednesday,[2] the pope journeyed to Mouzon with a noble retinue, and on the Sunday following[3] he returned to Rheims, weary and sick with fatigue and fear. Meanwhile, the vast number of magistrates assembled at the council anxiously expected the pope's return. Many of them whom the apostolical summons had convoked from distant countries, having nothing to do at Rheims, spent their money without profit, and grieved at the neglect to which their affairs at home were exposed in the interval. When at length the pope returned, he held sittings of the council for four days, and dealt with various matters relating to the different churches.

On the Monday, as soon as the pope had taken his seat, John of Crema, a learned and eloquent priest, rose, and gave a detailed account of the occurrences which happened in the

[1] Calixtus was, through his grandmother, Alice of Normandy, cousin-german of Henry I.

[2] Wednesday, October 22.

[3] Sunday, October 26.

journey they had just completed. "Your holiness," he said, "knows that we reached Mouzon in safety; but we met with adverse circumstances which prevented our reaping any profit. We lost no time on our journey, but we returned still faster than we went.[1] In fact we found that the emperor had come to the place of meeting with a great army, and, as if he was about to fight a battle, was at the head of nearly thirty thousand men. On learning this, we shut up our lord the pope in the castle already mentioned, which stands on the domains of the archbishop of Rheims, and we would not allow him to quit the castle, though we went from it to the appointed conference. We often sought opportunities of speaking with the emperor in private, but as soon as we had separated from the crowd and had drawn aside with him for a little space, we were surrounded by numbers of his retainers, who, privy to his wishes and deceit, brandished their swords and lances, and caused us great alarm; for we were not come in arms to wage war, but were men of peace, whose object was to procure tranquillity for the universal church. The crafty emperor spoke to us perfidiously, and put us off with a variety of subterfuges, but most of all he desired the presence of the pope, in order that he might make him prisoner. Thus we spent the day to no purpose, but carefully kept from him the holy father, remembering with what treachery this same emperor entered Rome and captured Pope Paschal before the very altar in the basilica of St. Peter the Apostle. At last the shades of night separated us, and each returned to his own quarters. Apprehensive however that some greater misfortune might befall us, we resolved on retracing our steps to Rheims, or rather betaking ourselves to flight in all haste; for we greatly feared that this formidable tyrant might follow in pursuit of us with his numberless legions. I have now said enough on this matter."

The archbishop of Cologne[2] sent envoys with letters to

[1] Mouzon lies at least twenty-five leagues from Rheims. It must have been a harassing journey under the circumstances, and considering what the roads must have been in those days when crossing the Ardennes. The place was well chosen for the conference with the emperor, it belonging to the archbishop of Rheims, and lying on the frontier between France and Germany.

[2] Frederick, brother of Engelbert, marquis of Frioul, and duke of Carinthia (1099—October 25, 1151).

our lord the pope, and having offered his submission concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with him; he also truly surrendered, as a mark of his friendship, the son of Peter de Léon,[1] whom he held as an hostage. Having announced this, as a cause of especial satisfaction and extraordinary joy, he pointed with his finger to a young man of a dark but pallid complexion, looking more like a Jew or a Saracen than a Christian, and who, though splendidly dressed, was deformed in person. The French and many others, perceiving him seated near the pope, treated him with derision, and imprecated shame upon him and sudden ruin, on account of the odium attached to his father, whom they regarded as a most iniquitous usurer.

After this the archbishop of Lyons stood up with his suffragans and thus addressed the council:—"The bishop of Maçon makes complaint to this holy synod, that Pons de Cluni has inflicted much loss and injury on himself and his church, having forcibly deprived him of his churches and tithes, and the services due to him, and refused him fitting honours, and the ordination of his clergy." As soon as the primate of Lyons had finished his plaint, many bishops, monks, and clerks, followed it up, and with loud clamours

[1] Peter de Léon, the third of that name, and afterwards antipope, by the name of Anaclete, on the death of Henorius II. He was the grandson of another Peter de Léon, originally a Jew, but converted and baptized by Pope Leo IX. This person was very rich and powerful, and a man of great ability. He rendered important services to the Roman church; as did his son Peter de Léon, the second of that name, particularly in the wars which arose out of the question of investitures. Pascal II. entrusted him with the command of the tower of Crescentius, now called the castle of St. Angelo. Distinguished, like his father, by his influence and talents, he gave hospitable entertainment in his palace at Rome to Urban II., who there ended his days. Peter de Léon wrote his epitaph, which is preserved. See vol. iii. p. 194, and the note. He also used his powerful interest to confirm the election of Calixtus II. His son, the third of the same name, after completing his studies at Cluni, was created cardinal-deacon by Pascal II., and cardinal-priest by Calixtus II., and is the person mentioned in the text as given up to the pope by the archbishop of Cologne. At a subsequent period he was sent to France as legate, having for his colleague his future competitor, Cardinal Gregory, of the family of the Papi. We shall find them arrive together at Séez, at the close of the year 1122.

This illustrious family assumed hereditarily the name of Léon in honour of Pope Leo IX. Our author does wrong in stigmatizing them as greedy usurers; but he probably thought that he could not throw too great a slur on the person and family of a future antipope.

complained of the many losses they had incurred, and the unjust usurpations by the monks of Cluni. Several of them made a great tumult, and for a long time poured forth in a torrent of abuse all the bitterness they entertained in their thoughts.

At length silence being restored, the abbot of Cluni rose, with a great number of his monks, and by a short reply, speaking with a modest and gentle voice, refuted the charges of his accusers. This illustrious abbot had been a monk of Vallombrose, and was son of the count of Melguil, and godson of Pope Paschal, by whose order he was educated among the monks of Cluni. He was still young and short in stature, but, docile from his earliest youth, he had become firmly established in virtuous practices,[1] and was extremely affable to those with whom he lived. He had a fair complexion and handsome features, and, as we have already said, was distinguished both for his manners and his birth, nearly related to kings and emperors; pious and learned, with so many endowments and advantages he stood firm and inflexible against the attacks of his rivals. To the many charges with which he was so clamorously assailed in the council, he replied: "The abbey of Cluni is subject only to the Roman church, and depends upon the pope, and from the time of its foundation it has obtained from the sovereign pontiffs privileges which these complainants are endeavouring to suppress and annul by their violence. But be it known to you, holy fathers here present, that I and my brethren contend for the preservation of the rights and possessions of our monastery, as they were held by the venerable Hugh and our other predecessors, and have been handed down to us. We have done wrong or injury to no one; we have neither despoiled others of their possessions, nor do we covet those belonging to others; but because we firmly defend the endowments which have been made to us by faithful men for the love of God, we are called usurpers, and suffer many unjust reproaches. For myself, I am not over-anxious in this matter; let my lord the pope defend, if he will, the church which is his own

[1] From the remarks made in a former note, vol. iii. p. 437, it will appear that Ponce, abbot of Cluni, was quite unworthy of the praise here given him by our author.

peculiar; it is for him to guard and protect the churches, tithes, and other possessions, which he himself committed to my charge."

The pope commanded that the judgment, on what he had heard on both sides, should be deferred until the next day. On the morrow John of Crema rose and commenced the exordium of his discourse in this manner:—"Inasmuch as it is right that our lord the pope should attentively listen to your complaints, and should succour you faithfully on all occasions, as a father does with regard to his children, and he ought to render you this service, not once only, but from time to time, it is fitting and just that he should himself have some footing in your dioceses, some religious house or other residence, or possession, held freely, either by his own choice, or bestowed on him by the offerings of the faithful."

This having been conceded with universal consent, John thus proceeded with his discourse:—"It is now two hundred years and more since the monastery of Cluni[1] was founded; and from its very foundation it was given to the pope of Rome, by whom it was endowed with many signal privileges in an assembly of the cardinals, and before many witnesses of different dignities. It is well known, and is quite clear, to those who have read the charters, that Gerald of Aquitaine erected the monastery of Cluni on his own fief, and going to Rome devoutly granted it to the pope; nor did he intend that the act should be nugatory, for he then made an offering of twelve gold pieces to the pope, and appointed that the like sum should be paid by the monks annually. This monastery has therefore never been subject to any prince or prelate to the present day, except the pope; and, through the divine mercy, bountifully bestowed upon it, both its revenues and the number of the monks have continually increased, and hence the sweet savour of its good report has been shed abroad throughout the world, and the example of its sanctity has a wide influ-

[1] Cluni was founded in 940 by William I., count of Auvergne, and duke of Aquitaine. The charter of foundation is preserved in the *Acta SS. ord. S. Benedicti*, t. v. p. 78. We find in it no clause precisely enjoining direct subjection to the see of Rome, nor reserving an annual rent of twelve pieces of gold, but only ten for five years. It is well known that the Roman chancery was not scrupulous in the means it used for extending its rights.

ence among those who with devout minds aspire to a life of regular discipline. The monks assembled in chapter elect their abbot according to the rule of our holy father St. Benedict; they send the abbot-elect to the pope with letters testimonial; and the pope consecrates him and gives him the benediction according to the ecclesiastical canons.

"The whole body of the faithful believe and confess that he who, by the ordinance of God, fills the apostolical see, has the power of binding and loosing; for he is the vicar of the prince of the apostles, to whom it was said by our divine Master: 'Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whomsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.' The apostolic see is therefore the hinge and the head of all churches, established as such by the Lord himself, and by no other. As the door is directed by the hinge, so all the churches are, by the disposition of God, governed by the authority of the apostolical see. You see that the pre-eminence over the other apostles was conferred on St. Peter by the Son of God. Hence he is called Cephas, because he is the chief and first of all the apostles; and it is fitting that the members should follow the impulse given by the head. Who can resist him whom the Lord has invested with so great a power? Who shall presume to loose one whom Peter has bound, or to bind one whom Peter has loosed? Wherefore, since the abbey of Cluni is subject to the pope only, and that he, who by God's decree is above all others upon earth, grants it his protection, the authority of Rome confirms the privileges of the monks of Cluni, and in the name of God prohibits all the sons of the church from violating the ancient immunities of the monks, despoiling them of the possessions long since bestowed upon them, or oppressing them by new and unusual exactions. Let them possess in peace all they have, in order that they may always serve God with tranquil minds."

While John of Crema was thus addressing them, many of the bishops, and other persons who were neighbours of the monks of Cluni, started up and created great disorder in the assembly, and although they did not venture openly to impugn the pope's commands, they were far from admit-

ting all the assertions which the cardinal had so resolutely made. In the altercations which took place various opinions were freely thrown out, emanating in copious streams from the clear fountains of a profound wisdom; but it is impossible for me to report in detail all that passed in the council. Acute reasoners discussed a vast number of questions concerning ecclesiastical affairs with consummate ability, and quoted many authorities which made them clear to attentive hearers. There Gerard bishop of Angoulême,[1] Haton bishop of Viviers, Geoffrey bishop of Chartres,[2] and William bishop of Chalons,[3] took the lead in the council by their powerful language, echoing like thunder, and poured forth torrents of an eloquence which was the envy of the most accomplished scholars and the most ardent votaries of learning. Meanwhile, the decease of the cardinal bishop of Frascati,[4] who had died on his journey, was announced to the council by a special messenger; and a letter was read from Clemence, the pope's sister,[5] on behalf of her son Baldwin, count of Flanders. For these, and for all the faithful departed, the afflicted chief shepherd, with the venerable council, made intercession to God.

On the last day on which the council sat, the bishop of Barcelona,[6] who, though short in stature and reduced to a skeleton, was a model of learning, eloquence, and piety, preached an able and profound sermon on the royal and

[1] Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, was a Norman and native of the Bessin, being the son of a man of obscure station. Gerard was made bishop of Angoulême in 1101, legate from 1106—1130, played an important part at the council of Lateran, and fulfilled a mission of no small danger at the court of the emperor respecting the great question of investitures in 1112. He was a partisan of the antipope Anaclete, and became his legate; was archbishop of Bourdeaux from 1132—1135, when he returned to his bishopric of Angoulême, and died there in the beginning of the year following. He is accused of having been bribed by Henry I. to oppose his legantine authority to the marriage of Robert, the young heir of the duchy of Normandy. Haton, bishop of Viviers, has been mentioned in a former note.

[2] Geoffrey de Lèves, bishop of Chartres, 1116—January 24, 1149; legate, 1132—1143

[3] The famous William de Champeaux, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, 1113—January 18, 1121.

[4] This cardinal, named Divitius, survived till 1122.

[5] Clemence, countess of Flanders, the pope's sister, and mother of Count Baldwin-à-la-Hache, died at Roslar, June 17, in the preceding summer.

[6] St. Oldegaire, bishop of Barcelona, was raised to the see in 1116,

sacerdotal authorities, to which all who were able to hear it listened with intense eagerness. After this, the pope pronounced with grief the sentence of excommunication against Charles Henry, the emperor, and the Enemy of God,[1] Burdin, the anti-pope, and their abettors, associating with them certain other criminals, who although often openly censured, had continued impenitent; against these he launched the same anathema, until such time as they amended their lives. Finally, he commanded the decrees of the council of Rheims to be published. John of Crema dictated them under the direction of the Roman cardinals; John of Rouen, a monk of St. Ouen, wrote them on parchment; and Chrysogonus, deacon of the holy Roman church, read them publicly with an audible voice. The following is a copy of the decrees of the council:—

"By the judgment of the Holy Ghost, and the authority of the apostolical see, we confirm the decisions of the holy fathers, respecting the crime of simony. Wherefore, if any one shall, either by himself or by another person employed by him, buy or sell any bishopric, abbey, deanery, or archdeaconry, cure of souls, provostship, prebend, altar, or any other ecclesiastical benefice, or promotions, ordinations, consecrations, dedication of churches, clerical tonsure, a stall in the choir, or any ecclesiastical office or function, both the buyer and seller shall forfeit his dignity, office, or benefice: and if he do not repent, he shall be excommunicated and cut off in all respects from the church of God which he has injured.

"We utterly prohibit the investiture of bishoprics and abbeys by lay hands. Wherefore every layman who shall hereafter presume to give investiture shall be subject to the penalty of excommunication. Moreover, the person invested shall be deprived of the dignity with which he was invested, without any hope of recovering it.

"We decree that the possessions of all the churches,

made archbishop of Tarragona by Count Raimond, January 23, 1117, received the *pallium* and the apostolical confirmation from Gelasius II. at Gaieta, March 24, 1118. It would, therefore, have been more correct to call him archbishop of Tarragona. This pious and learned prelate died, March 6, 1137, at the age of seventy-six years. He had filled the functions of legate since the month of April, 1123. We shall hear of him again in our author's thirteenth book.

[1] *Imperatorem Theomachum*, one who fights against God.

which have been given to them by the munificence of kings, the bounty of princes, or the offerings of any of the faithful, shall continue for ever undisturbed and inviolate. Whoever invades or usurps them or retains them by tyrannical power shall be punished with perpetual excommunication, according to the decree of St. Symmachus: 'No bishop, or priest, or any other of the clergy shall devise his ecclesiastical dignities or benefices to any one as heritable possessions.'

"We command, in addition, that no sort of fee or reward be exacted for baptisms, chrisms, administering the holy oil, or the rites of burial, visiting the sick, or extreme unction.

"We utterly interdict all priests, deacons, and subdeacons from cohabitation with concubines or wives. If any are found to offend in this respect, they shall be deprived of their ecclesiastical offices and benefices; and moreover, if they are not thus corrected of their impurity, they shall be cut off from Christian communion."[1]

On the third of the calends of November [October 30] Pope Calixtus II., as well as the whole council, adopted these decrees;[2] and the pope having given his benediction to all who were there assembled, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the sacred congregation was dissolved, and every one returned home, giving praise to God.

Ch. XXII. *Evreux surrenders—Eustace of Breteuil and Stephen, count d'Aumale, submit to King Henry.*

Meanwhile, King Henry pressed vigorously the siege of Evreux, and his nephew Theobald, count palatine,[3] endea-

[1] This last canon caused great fermentation amongst the clergy in Germany and England. We shall presently find what tumults it caused in Normandy. It was on this occasion that the Leonine verses were composed, which commenced thus:

O bone Calliste, nunc clerus odit te;
Olim presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti;
Hoc sustulisti, quando tu Papa fuisti. . . .

[2] The decrees of the council of Rheims are also preserved by Roger de Wendover, nearly *totidem verbis* as they are found in the text of Ordericus; but the English chronicler's account of the proceedings is very meagre. He gives a different version of the pope's visit to the emperor, and states that the decrees were submitted to him, and that he concurred in all of them except that relating to investitures.

[3] The counts of Champagne took the title of counts-palatine in right of

voured to restore peace between the hostile parties, and by his wise counsels and the confidence placed in him, brought Amalric to the king, and he, being reconciled with that prince, made a voluntary surrender of the fortress, and received with joy the whole county of his uncle. Besides this, Eustace,[1] with his wife Juliana, having been reconciled with their friends, hastened by their advice to the camp of the besiegers, and entering the king's tent barefooted, fell at his knees. Upon this the king said sharply: "How have you dared, without my safe-conduct, to introduce yourself into my presence, when you have exasperated me against you by so many and such violent outrages?" Eustace replied: "You are my liege lord; I, therefore, present myself to you as such in full security, being resolved to observe for the future the fealty I owe you, and to do right in all things in expiation of my delinquencies, according as you in your mercy shall determine." Friends interfered to supplicate the king on behalf of his son-in-law; and Richard, the king's son, joined in imploring favour for his sister. In consequence, the king's heart was softened towards his son-in-law and daughter, and kindly feelings returning, the relenting father-in-law said to his son-in-law: "Let Juliana return to Pacy, and for you, come with me to Rouen, where you shall hear my decision." The king's command was immediately fulfilled, and he then said to Eustace: "I will give you in England three hundred silver marks every year as a recompense for the loss of the fief of Bréteuil, which I have granted to your cousin Ralph the Breton, whom I have always found loyal, and who has distinguished himself by his valour against the enemy whenever I required his service." After this the Lord Eustace, in time of peace, fortified Pacy with walls and outworks, and lived in great wealth more than twenty years. As for Juliana, she sometime afterwards abandoned her loose mode of life, and changing her habit, became a nun in the new monastery of Fontevrault, where she served God.

the jurisdiction which they exercised over the officers of the palace of the French kings. The emperors of the West having created a similar office in their court, the counts of Champagne distinguished themselves by the title of counts-palatine of France.

[1] Eustace de Bréteuil. See vol. iii. p. 344.

Hugh de Gournai, Robert de Neubourg, and the other rebels, finding themselves deserted by their most powerful accomplices, and that the king's courage and prudence raised him above all opposition, as soon as they learned the defection of their allies, expressed penitence for their past conduct, and, either in person and through their friends, implored the royal clemency. Thereupon the king, who feared God and loved peace and justice, pardoned the offences of his suppliant barons, and restored them to his favour with great kindness.

Against Stephen, count d'Aumale,[1] who still persisted in his rebellion, the king assembled an army, and began to construct a fortified camp at a place called Old Rouen; and he named it Mâte-Putain, which signifies, "the whore's match,"[2] meaning it as a slur on the Countess Havise;[3] for it was at her instigation that the earl had taken arms against his kinsman and sovereign, and harbouring William, the late duke's heir, and Baldwin of Flanders in his castles, had long espoused their cause. But when he learned that the king was marching against him at the head of an army, he tendered him, by the advice of his friends, a humble apology, and, the king having pardoned him as well as all the rest, returned in peace and triumph.

CH. XXIII. *Traditionary accounts of the foundation of Rouen—Story of the freebooter, Rutubus.*

HAVING here mentioned Old Rouen,[4] I will shortly quote what is said about it in the old Roman histories. Caius

[1] This person has been often mentioned before, particularly in b. viii. c. 9 (vol. ii. p. 473), where some errors crept into a note, which we take this opportunity of correcting. Stephen d'Aumale was the grandson, not the son, of Adeliza, William the Conqueror's sister; who had only one husband, having been married to Enguerrand, count de Ponthieu, who was killed under the walls of Arques in 1053. It was her daughter Adeliza who married Odo of Champagne.

Stephen d'Aumale was never raised to the throne, though he was set up as a pretender to it in the rebellion of Robert Mowbray, described in b. viii. c. 23. See the note, vol. iii. p. 20.

[2] "Mata-Putenam, id est: *devinoens meretricem.*" So *mate* and *stalemate*, in the game of chess.

[3] Havise de Mortimer, daughter of Ralph de Mortimer.

[4] Ordericus appears to have gathered the account of the origin of Rouen, contained in this chapter, from some of those romances which

Julius Cæsar laid siege to Calet, from whence the district of Caux derives the name which it still preserves, and attacked it for a long time with his whole force. It was there that his most implacable enemies had assembled from every part of Gaul, and as they had offended Cæsar and irritated him beyond measure by their slaughters, and fires, and frequent outrages, he pressed the siege of the place with the utmost vigour, and taking it and all who were in it, razed it to the ground. Still, in order that the province might not remain defenceless, he built on the spot a fortress, which he called Julia Bona, after his daughter Julia, a name which was corrupted in the barbarian tongue, and turned

were current in his times under the name of *Gesta Romanorum*, of which he made use on other occasions, as he acknowledges with his habitual candour. Some of the details are full of absurdity.

The nine rivers here mentioned are the Durdan (under its Norsk name of the White-River, which is preserved in that of the commune of Vittefleurs); the Tale, or Dun, which has given its name to the Talon; the Seine; the Vienne, here called the river of Beaunai (which is also the name of a commune on its banks); the Sie; the Varenne, or the river of Arques; the Dieppe, which gave its name to the town at its mouth, and is now called the Bethune; the Eaulne; the Yère; and the Bresle, or river of Eu. He has omitted the river of Fécamp, *Fluvius Fiscanus*.

It is difficult to arrive at anything satisfactory respecting this name of Old-Rouen. There is another place of the same name in the department of l'Eure, and M. Le Prevost considers that it is not improbable that the name is a contraction for "the Old Road to Rouen." He remarks that the word *vieux* might often be interpreted *vadum*; so that perhaps the ford on the road to Rouen might be intended, and he inclines to that opinion.

With respect to the story of the tyrant Rutubus, and his having built a fort on the Seine, to which he gave his name, it appeared to M. Le Prevost so absurd a fiction that it was not worth while to inquire whether any such place existed. Bede, however, who is copied by Henry of Huntingdon, tells us (b. i. c. 1), that "as you pass" along the nearest coast of Belgic Gaul, the first place in Britain which opens to the eye is *Rutubi Portus*, by the English corrupted into Reptuacester (Richborough in Kent); and M. Delisle conjectures that this may have served the old romancer for the foundation of his story of the tyrant Rutubus. Still our author describes so exactly the wooded heights above Rouen commanding the navigation of the Seine at several points, and so suited for the stronghold of a freebooter, and he appeals so confidently to the local knowledge of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as to ruins existing in his day, that it is difficult to think there was not some foundation for this part of the tale.

As to the story of the foundation by Julius Cæsar of Illebonne, or Lillebone, which stands on the banks of the Seine, above Havre, see the note in vol. iii. p. 130.

into Illebone. Thence he crossed nine rivers, the Guiteflude, the Tale, now called the Dun, the Seine, the Vienne, the Sie, the Varenne, the Dieppe, and the Eaulne; he then traversed the shores of the ocean as far as the river Aue, commonly called the Eu. The skilful commander, perceiving the advantages which the country offered, resolved on turning them to the advantage of his people, and founding a city for the protection of the Romans, which he named Rodomus, or the seat of the Romans. Having assembled workmen for this purpose, and marked out a sufficient space of ground, and employed masons and stonecutters to carry on the work, he continued his march. Meanwhile, Rutubus, a powerful and cruel tyrant, was master of a strong castle, deemed impregnable, and which, standing on a height above the Seine, commanded the neighbouring country and the ships which navigated the river beneath. Cæsar, being informed of this, after a rapid march, assaulted and took the castle, which was called Rutubi Portus. Those who live in the neighbourhood, and are well informed, have no difficulty in tracing out its site and ruins. Upon this, Cæsar withdrew the masons and other labourers from the spot first mentioned, and, founding the noble metropolis Rouen, on the river Seine, left nothing but the name to the former place on the banks of the Eu, which is preserved by a village there to the present day.

I have collected from the accounts of ancient writers, for the benefit of posterity, these details respecting Old Rouen, where King Henry began to form a camp against his enemies; but, peace being soon restored, he soon abandoned the undertaking. I now return to recent events of which I had commenced the narrative, and following former writers, as far as lies in my power, I offer the fruits of my labours to posterity.

Ch. XXIV. *Conference between Pope Calixtus II. and Henry I. at Gisors.*

All the Normans who had revolted against the king, as we have already mentioned, finding him more powerful in all respects than they had supposed, and being better advised than they were on a former occasion, sued for pardon, either in person or through their friends, and their submission

being accepted, the king forgave their offences. It was with great reluctance, indeed, that they left William, the young prince, and his guardian, Elias, still in exile, but they could obtain peace from the all-powerful king on no other terms.

In the month of November,[1] Pope Calixtus came into Normandy, and had a conference with the king at Gisors concerning peace. The magnificent king received him with the highest honours, threw himself at his feet, and paid the greatest reverence to one who was not only the chief pastor of the universal church, but united to him by the ties of consanguinity.[2] The pope raised him up with great benignity, gave him the benediction and the kiss of peace, and they mutually embraced with great satisfaction. They afterwards met in conference at a fitting opportunity, and the pope thus addressed the king:

"In the council of Rheims I have been occupied in providing for the welfare of the faithful in concert with holy bishops, and other prelates and sons of the church, and I have engaged to use my utmost efforts to promote a general peace. In consequence, I have made all haste, my glorious son, to come into these parts, and I pray Almighty God, in his mercy, to look favourably on my endeavours, and to direct them to the common benefit of the universal church. And first, I beseech your majesty kindly to second our efforts, and, like a worthy successor of Solomon, show yourself placable to your enemies, and grant them the peace for which they sue through my mediation."

The king having promised to submit willingly to the apostolical injunctions, the pope resumed his discourse to the following purport: "The law of God, which makes careful provision for the welfare of all, commands that every one

[1] The pope staid at Rheims till the 10th November. He then proceeded to Gisors by way of Laon and Beauvais, from which place he dated bulls on the 20th.

[2] This was not the first opportunity that Calixtus and Henry had of becoming personally acquainted. They met before in England in 1100, when Calixtus, then archbishop of Vienne, was sent there by Paschal II. as his legate. This mission had no success in a country which had hitherto seen no other legates than the archbishops of Canterbury. St. Anselm returned the welcome which he had received from Calixtus at Vienne two years before; but King Henry obliged the legate to re-cross the sea without fulfilling his errand.

shall possess his lawful inheritance, and not covet what belongs to another, or do to others what he would not have done to himself. Wherefore the synod of the faithful has unanimously decreed, and humbly implores your highness, that your brother Robert, whom you have long detained in captivity, be set free, and that you restore to him and his son the duchy of Normandy, of which you have deprived them."

In reply to this the king said: "I am ready to obey your precepts, reverend father, so far as they are reasonable, as I promised in the beginning. But now I beg that you will hear with attention what I have done, and with what motives I have acted. I have not deprived my brother of the duchy of Normandy, but I recovered by arms the inheritance of our common father, which neither my brother or nephew possessed themselves, for it was deplorably devastated by desperate robbers and sacrilegious criminals. No reverence was paid to the priests and other servants of God, but almost heathenism prevailed in all parts of Normandy. The monasteries, which my predecessors founded for the good of their souls, were laid in ruins, and the monks were scattered for want of the means of subsistence. The churches were pillaged, many of them were burnt, and those who took refuge in them were dragged out. The parishioners slaughtered each other in the most cruel manner in mutual conflicts, and those who survived, having no protector, abandoned themselves to grief amongst so much desolation.

"Such was the afflicted state of Normandy during nearly seven years;[1] nor did it allow any one to enjoy security either within or without. Repeated supplications from the ministers of religion were addressed to me invoking my aid to the suffering people, for the love of God, and conjuring me with many entreaties, not to suffer cruel robbers to vent their fury any longer on the honest inhabitants. Thus compelled, as it were, I crossed over to Normandy, and being well received by those illustrious nobles, William, count of

[1] This calculation is evidently exaggerated to serve the occasion; but our author is still more inexact. According to what he says, b. x. c. 16, nearly eight years must have elapsed between the month of September, 1100, the period of Robert's return, and September 28, 1106, when he was made prisoner.

d'Evreux, and Robert, Count de Mellent, and other loyal barons, I was afflicted at witnessing the desolation of the territory of my ancestors, but it was impossible for me to succour those who were in need, except by having recourse to arms.[1] My brother protected the authors of all the mischief, and followed the counsels of those who made him vile and contemptible. Gunhier d'Aunai, Roger de Laci, Robert de Belèsme, and other miscreants oppressed the Normans, and under an imaginary duke, domineered over the bishops, the clergy, and the whole defenceless people. Even those whom I had banished from my territories beyond the sea for their nefarious plots, he chose for his privy-counsellors, and entrusted with the government of honest people. Murder and fire were rife in all quarters, and such atrocious deeds were done that they would seem almost incredible to any one who had not witnessed them. I sent frequent messages to my brother, begging him to accept my advice, and promising to assist him with all my power; but he treated me with contempt, and availed himself of the services of those who were traitors to me.

"Seeing then that such enormous crimes were perpetrated, I was unwilling to refuse my services to holy mother church; but the duty which was imposed upon me by Divine Providence I endeavoured to fulfil for the welfare of the people. Engaging resolutely in the conflict with fire and sword, I took Bayeaux from Gunhier, and Caen from Enguerand Fitz-Ilbert, and, crushing in battle the tyrants who held them, I gained possession of other strong places, part of my father's domains, which my brother had given to perjured flatterers, while he himself was reduced to such poverty that he could not pay the wages of his retainers. At length I laid siege to Tinchebrai, that real cavern of demons, where William, Count de Mortain, brought my brother against me with a large army; and I fought against it on the Starved Field,[2] in the name

[1] Henry forgets that it was not by his arms only he aided the rebellious subjects of his brother, but that the wealth of England was lavished in corrupting the Norman lords.

[2] *Campo Famelico.* This is the second time that our author uses this expression; it must therefore have been generally applied to designate the field of battle of Tinchebrai. It may perhaps have been derived from the

of the Lord, and for the defence of my country. There, by the aid of God, who knew the purity of my intentions, I conquered my enemies, making prisoners both the counts, my brother and his cousin, with many traitors; and I have detained them in close custody to the present day, for fear of their causing some disturbance to me or my kingdom. Thus I recovered the inheritance of my father and all his domains, and I have steadfastly endeavoured to maintain his laws according to the will of God for the security of his people. As for my brother,[1] I have not caused him to be bound in fetters like a captive enemy, but treating him like a noble pilgrim worn with long sufferings, I have placed him in a royal castle, and supplied his table and wardrobe[2] with all kinds of luxuries and delicacies in great abundance. His son, a boy five years of age, I entrusted to the care of Elias, the duke's son-in-law, desiring that he should be so brought up that in wisdom, worthiness, and power he should be in all respects equal to my own son. But Elias, instigated by his accomplices, surreptitiously carried off my nephew, and abandoning the castle and fief of Saint-Saens, which he possessed, sought refuge in foreign parts, and as far as it was in his power, harassed me with frequent incursions; although, not having the help of God, he never succeeded. He raised in arms against me the French and Burgundians, and other nations, but, if I mistake not, he has injured himself more than me. I have often invited my nephew to meet me, and sent many envoys with friendly messages, assuring him that he might come to my court in security, and should be par-

circumstance of the troops of the Count de Mortain having carried off all the crops still standing, some hours before the battle.

[1] King Henry affected on all occasions to call his brother the *count* of Normandy, and that is the title given him in all acts proceeding from his chancery. However, a few lines afterwards we find him suffering the title of duke to escape him.

[2] We may form some idea of these luxuries by two entries relating to the *count* of Normandy in the Pipe Rolls for 1131. That year they gave him new clothes, but this did not always happen, for we find in Matthew Paris's additions to Roger de Wendover's Chronicle a curious story respecting a cast-off robe which his brother sent to the unhappy captive. (Vol. i. p. 482, in *Antiq. Lib.*) It is even said that notwithstanding the affectation of kindness assumed in his language to the pope, Henry caused his brother's eyes to be put out, as he did his nephew's the Count de Mortain.

taker with my son of my royal wealth. I even offered him three English earldoms, that he might have them under his government, and being brought up among my own privy councillors, might learn the value of wisdom and probity in dealing both with the rich and the poor, and how strictly he ought to maintain sovereign justice and military discipline. Notwithstanding, he has rejected all my offers, and has preferred to be a wandering mendicant amongst foreign thieves, rather than to partake of the enjoyments of my court.

"Fields lying uncultivated, houses burnt, villages devastated, churches in ruins, and people mourning the massacre of their friends and the pillage of their substances—all these are witnesses of the numerous calamities which I have now recounted. Let your holiness, my lord pope, wisely ponder on these things, and lay profitable and carefully-considered injunctions both on those who rule and those who obey."

After having heard with attention the king's discourse, the pope was struck with astonishment, and approved his conduct according to what he had related. "We have now heard enough," he said, "of the duke and his son. Let us say no more of them, but turn to other matters. The king of France complains that the treaty between you was wrongfully violated, and that your soldiers have unjustly done much injury to him and his kingdom." The king replied: "Lewis was the first to break the alliance between us. He supported my enemies in various ways in their hostilities against me, and encouraged my vassals by promises and persuasions to revolt from me. Notwithstanding, if he will amend his ways, and henceforth keep inviolably our treaty of alliance, I am ready to obey your admonitions in all things relating to it."

The pope, well pleased at this, added: "King Lewis also complains of the injury he received from Count Theobald, your nephew, who made prisoner the Count de Nevers as he was returning from the siege which the king himself and the bishops of France undertook against Thomas de Marle, to restrain him from the iniquities which he practised against innocent men." "I will omit no opportunity," said the king, "of conforming to your paternal admonitions in the cause of tranquillity and peace; and I will place Theobald, my nephew, under your orders in all that is good, for he is

a sincere lover of justice. I also admonish my other nephew, William, to accept the peace, and I renew through your highness the same offers which I have already often made him through others; because I both wish to give you satisfaction in all things, and desire a general peace for my people, and the welfare of my nephew, just as if he were my own son."

In the end,[1] the pope sent his legates to the king of France and his barons, with information of the replies given by the king of England favourable to peace. All therefore were full of joy. It appears superfluous for me to enlarge on the rejoicings of the people, who had suffered so much from frequent hostilities, upon finding that the storms of war were succeeded by the serenity of peace, the object of their desires. The concord of the princes being ratified, the castles which had been taken by force or fraud were restored to their owners, and all the soldiers made prisoners during the war on the one side and the other were set at liberty, and, released from their dungeons, were suffered to return to their homes rejoicing.

[1] Our author has here omitted several facts. In the first place he does not notice the ineffectual attempts, made by Thurstan and seconded by the pope, for his reconciliation with the king. Although Henry was by no means remarkable for fidelity to his engagements, in this instance he exhibited a great deal more honesty than the sovereign pontiff. The king having alleged the oath he had sworn not to admit Thurstan into England, if he broke the pledge he gave before he went to Rheims, Calixtus offered to give him a dispensation from his oath: "And who," replied the king, "will afterwards trust to my word, if I forfeit it with so little compunction?" See Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, on this discussion, which he treats much more fully than our author. Sufficient to say that the conduct of the pope in the transaction was not only discourteous to the king of England, but dishonourable. It was the object of the court of Rome to *denationalize*, at any cost, the church of England, by reducing the preponderance of the archbishops of Canterbury, and sending over legates exclusively devoted to their own interest.

Ordericus forgets to tell us the time when the interview at Gisors closed, and the road by which he returned from it. All we know is, that on Nov. 27, he was at St. Denis, from whence he went to Paris and Melun, where the court of France gave him a magnificent reception notwithstanding the facility with which he had abandoned its interests. He then took the road by Sens and Saulieu, from whence he wrote letters dated December 22. The pope could have staid only a few days at Gisors, if it be true that archbishop Geoffrey held a synod at Rouen on the third week in November, as this prelate would not have left Gisors till after the pope.

CH. XXV.—*A synod at Rouen—Celibacy of priests enforced—Tumult at the synod—Henry returns to England—Shipwreck of the king's children and their attendants in the Blanche-Nef.*

MEANWHILE Satan, that malicious and restless spirit who deceived the first man by means of the serpent, was filled with grief when he saw the kings and great warriors restored to peace through the grace of God, and began to sow the tares of fatal discord among the priests in the Lord's temple. Geoffrey, the archbishop, having returned to Rouen from attending the council at Rheims, held a synod in the third week of November,[1] and, stirred up by the late papal decrees, dealt sharply and rigorously with the priests of his diocese. Among other canons of the council[2] which he promulgated, was that which interdicted them from commerce with females of any description, and against such transgressors he launched the terrible sentence of excommunication. As the priests shrunk from submitting to this grievous burden,[3] and in loud mutterings among themselves vented their complaints

[1] Between Sunday the 16th and Saturday the 22nd. It is difficult to reconcile this date with that of the meeting at Gisors, where the archbishop's presence was indispensable. There seems no other mode than by supposing that for the third week in November we should read the fourth.

[2] We have no other account of the proceedings at this synod than what is supplied by our author, and incline to think that the canons here mentioned were those decreed by the council of Rheims, the synod being convened to hear them promulgated, and record their acceptance by the clergy of Normandy.

[3] There is a street at Rouen, near the cathedral, called *La Rue des Prêtresses*, which owes its name to the habits which it was the object of these canons to extirpate. In order fully to understand the extent of the revolution in the domestic life of the secular clergy in Normandy which it was attempted to effect, we must call to mind the state of affairs then existing, as we find it described by the biographer of St. Bernard, abbot of Turon.

"It was the common custom at that time throughout Normandy for priests to be openly married, and begetting sons and daughters they left them their churches after their death, like an inheritance. When they gave their daughters in marriage, they often bestowed on them a church for their dowry, if they possessed no other property; and when they took wives, they swore in presence of their parents, before cohabitation, that they would never desert them.

"Hence it happened, that the priests' wives, being under apprehension that they should be separated from them, sought to kill St. Bernard, and

of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit to which they were subjected, the archbishop ordered one Albert, a man free of speech, who had used some offensive words, I know not what, to be arrested on the spot, and he was presently thrust into the common prison. This prelate was a Breton and guilty of many indiscretions, warm and obstinate in temper, and severe in his aspect and manner, harsh in his censures, and, withal, indiscreet and a great talker. The other priests, witnessing this extraordinary proceeding, were utterly confounded; and when they saw that, without being charged with any crime or undergoing any legal examination, a priest was dragged, like a thief, from a church to a dungeon, they became so exceedingly terrified that they knew not how to act, doubting whether they had best defend themselves or take to flight. Meanwhile, the archbishop rose from his seat in a violent rage, and hastily leaving the synod, summoned his guards, whom he had already posted outside, with instructions what they were to do. The archbishop's retainers then rushed into the church with arms and staves, and began to lay about them, without respect of persons, on the assembled clergy, who were conversing together. Some of these ecclesiastics ran to their lodgings through the muddy streets of the city, though they were robed in their albs; others snatched up some rails and stones which they chanced to find, and stood on their defence; whereupon their cowardly assailants betook themselves to flight and sought refuge in the sacristy, followed closely by the indignant clergy. The archbishop's people, ashamed of having been discomfited by an unarmed, tonsured band,[1] summoned to their aid, in the extremity of their fury, all the cooks, bakers, and scullions they could muster in the neighbourhood, and had the effrontery to renew the conflict within the sacred precincts. All whom they found in the

the priests themselves joined in the plot, in order to deter him from preaching."

At Coutances, an archdeacon, who had a wife and children, asked the preacher how that could concern him, who as a monk was dead to the world. The saint in reply modestly compared himself to the jaw-bone in the hand of Samson; a speech which was much applauded by the people.—*Acta SS. mensis Aprilis*, t. ii., p. 234.

[1] *Inermi coronatorum choro.*

church or cemetery,[1] whether engaged in the broil or innocently looking on, they beat and cuffed, or inflicted on them some other bodily injury. Then Hugh of Longueville and Ansquetil of Cropus,[2] and some other ecclesiastics of advanced age and great piety, happened to be in the church, conversing together on confession and other profitable subjects, or reciting, as was their duty, the service of the hours to the praise of God. The archbishop's domestics were mad enough to fall on these priests, treated them shamefully, and so outrageously, that they hardly restrained themselves from taking their lives, though they asked for mercy on their bended knees. These old priests, being at length dismissed, made their escape from the city as soon as they could, together with their friends who had before fled, without stopping to receive the bishop's licence and benediction. They carried the sorrowful tidings to their parishioners and concubines, and, to prove the truth of their reports, exhibited the wounds and livid bruises on their persons. The archdeacons, and canons, and all quiet citizens, were afflicted at this cruel onslaught, and compassionated with the servants of God who had suffered such unheard-of insults. Thus the blood of her priests was shed in the very bosom of holy mother church, and the holy synod was converted into a scene of riot and mockery. The archbishop, overwhelmed with consternation, retired to his private apartments, where he concealed himself during the uproar, but shortly afterwards, when the ecclesiastics had betaken themselves to flight, as we have already related, his wrath subsided, and going to the church, he put on his stole, and sprinkling holy water, reconciled the church which he had polluted and his sorrowing canons. A report of this execrable tumult came to the king's ears, but he was so much occupied by other affairs, that he deferred giving any redress to the injured parties.[3]

[1] This cemetery is now the Place Notre-Dame at Rouen.

[2] Villages near Dieppe, the curés of which had been summoned to the synod.

[3] The king did not trouble himself about these canons until he had discovered means of turning them to the advantage of his exchequer, in which he felt a much greater interest than in questions of ecclesiastical discipline. A synod was held at London, in 1129, regarding the pro-

King Henry,[1] having now after great exertions put his affairs in Normandy into excellent order, resolved on re-crossing the sea and bestowing large rewards on his young esquires and most distinguished knights, some of whom he proposed to raise to high honours and ample wealth in England. Accordingly, he commanded a fleet to be immediately fitted out, and a large body of troops of all ranks to be ready to accompany him.

Meanwhile, Ralph de Guader, being apprehensive of the disloyalty of the Normans, who submitted to him with reluctance on account of their attachment to Eustace their former lord, and reflecting that he possessed Guader, Montfort,[2] and other fortified towns and large domains, his own patrimonial inheritance, in Brittany, affianced his

hibition of priests having concubines; and Henry of Huntingdon informs us that the king deceived the prelates through the simplicity of William the archbishop; inasmuch as they imprudently gave the king jurisdiction in the matter of priests' concubines, as it afterwards appeared, when the affair ended disgracefully; for the king received large sums of money from the priests for licence to live as before. Then, when it was too late, the bishops repented of the concessions they had made, it being apparent to all that they had been deceived, and had subjected the clergy to exactions. —*History*, p. 257, *in Antiq. Lib.* And see what Henry of Huntingdon, himself the son of an ecclesiastic, says of these canons, *ib.* 241; and the note.

[1] Ordericus proceeds to relate the circumstances of Henry I.'s departure from Normandy, and the shipwreck of the Blanche-Nef, as if they formed part of the occurrences of the year 1119, and followed in course after the king's interview with Pope Calixtus at Gisors, and the synod of Rouen which took place in the month of November of that year. According, however, to the unanimous testimony of all the other cotemporary historians, it was not till December, 1120, that the calamitous event occurred, the details of which, preserved by our author alone, give a melancholy interest to the remainder of the present chapter. But Ordericus omits all the intermediate facts, some of which are important: among which may be mentioned the meeting of the two kings, where William, the young prince, did homage for Normandy to Lewis-le-Gros, in the presence and by command of his father. A document is preserved which leaves no doubt on the true date of the disaster here described; it is a charter of King Henry to the abbey of Cerisi, dated at Barfleur, November 21, 1120, four days, therefore, before his embarkation. It is probable that our author was led into this serious error on the authority of the chronicle of his own abbey of St. Evroult, which appears to have had the entry made in it before Ordericus compiled this part of his history. See the extracts from the chronicle of St. Evroult appended to this work.

[2] Gaël and Montfort-sur-Meu near Rennes.

daughter to Richard, the son of king Henry;[1] who consented to and approved of the alliance, and gave as her dowry Breteuil, Gloz, and Lire, and the whole of the fief he held in Normandy. But the design was frustrated and came to nothing, God, who rules all things well, having ordained otherwise. For the lady[2] here mentioned afterwards married Robert earl of Leicester, with whom she lived many years.

A large fleet having been fitted out in the port of Barfleur, and the gallant company who were to accompany the king, having assembled there, the king and his attendants embarked on the seventh of the calends of December [25th November], in the first watch of the night, with a south wind blowing; and the sails being hoisted up they put to sea, and in the morning those whom God permitted embraced the shore of England.

In this voyage a sad disaster happened which caused much lamentation and innumerable tears to flow. Thomas, the son of Stephen, had obtained an audience of the king, and offering him a gold mark, said to him, "Stephen, the son of Airard,[3] was my father, and during his whole life he was in your father's service as a mariner. He it was who conveyed your father to England in his own ship, when he crossed the sea to make war on Harold. He was employed by your father in services of this description as long as he lived, and gave him such satisfaction that he honoured him with liberal rewards, so that he lived in great credit and prosperity among those of his own class. My lord king, I ask you to employ me in the same service, having a vessel, called the Blanche-Nef,[4] which is fitted out in the best manner, and perfectly adapted to receive a royal retinue." The king replied: "I grant your request; but I

[1] Malmesbury informs us that Richard was King Henry's son by a woman of low rank, born before his accession to the throne; but that Henry had a great regard for him on account of his intrepid character and filial obedience. He was, therefore, considerably older than his brother William, the heir apparent to the throne.

[2] Amicia de Guader, married to Robert the Hunchback, earl of Leicester, son of Robert, Count de Meulan.

[3] It is very possible that this mariner was the person described in Domesday Book as a tenant *in capite* in Berkshire, under the name of *Stefanus, Eirardi filius*, the grant of lands being part of the rewards mentioned a few lines further on.

[4] *Candida navis.*

have already selected a ship which suits me, and I shall not change: however, I entrust to you my sons, William and Richard, whom I love as myself, with many of the nobility of my realm."

The mariners were in great glee at hearing this, and greeting the king's son with fair words asked him to give them something to drink. The prince gave orders that they should have three muids. No sooner was the wine delivered to them than they had a great drinking bout, and pledging their comrades in full cups, indulged too much and became intoxicated. By the king's command many barons with their sons embarked in the Blanche-Nef, and there were in all, as far as I can learn, three hundred souls on board the ill-fated ship. But two monks of Tyron, Count Stephen,[1] with two men-at-arms, William de Roumare, Rabel the chamberlain,[2] Edward of Salisbury,[3] and several others came on shore, having left the vessel upon observing that it was overcrowded with riotous and headstrong youths. The crew consisted of fifty experienced rowers, besides an armed marine force,[4] who were very disorderly, and as soon as they got on board insolently took possession of the benches of the rowers, and being very drunk forgot their station, and scarcely paid respect to any one. Alas! How many, among the company embarked, were without the slightest feeling of devotion towards God,

> Qui maris immodicas moderatur, et aëris, iras!
> Who rules the storm, and calms the raging sea.

They even drove away with contempt, amidst shouts of

[1] Stephen de Blois, count of Mortain.

[2] William de Roumare is mentioned before (vol. iii. p. 482), as present with William de Tankerville at the battle of Bremull. Rabel was the son of the latter by Matilda d'Arques, and his father still living, M. Deville supposed that the title of chamberlain is here given him by anticipation. M. Le Prevost, however, remarks that we should rather consider the word to be an hereditary designation than a positive title of office. Thus the family were called the chamberlains of Tankerville, or simply the chamberlains, long after the office had passed into other hands. So we have the Butlers, Stewarts, &c.

[3] Edward of Salisbury is also mentioned in the place just referred to and the note subjoined.

[4] *Schippæ*, from a German root, whence are derived the German *schiff*, the French *esquif*, and the English *ship*, *skiff*, and *skipper*.

laughter, the priests who came to bless them, with the other ministers who carried the holy water; but they were speedily punished for their mockery. Besides the king's treasure and some casks of wine, there was no cargo in Thomas's ship, which was full of passengers; and they urged him to use his utmost endeavours to overtake the royal fleet which was already ploughing the waves. In his drunken folly, Thomas, confident in his seamanship and the skill of his crew, rashly boasted that he would soon leave behind him all the ships that had started before them. At last, he gave the signal for departure; the sailors seized the oars without a moment's delay, and, unconscious of the fate which was imminently impending, joyously handled the ropes and sails, and made the ship rush through the water at a great rate. But as the drunken rowers exerted themselves to the utmost in pulling the oars, and the luckless pilot steered at random and got the ship out of its due course, the starboard bow of the Blanche-Nef struck violently on a huge rock,[1] which is left dry, every day, when the tide is out, and covered by the waves at high water. Two planks having been shattered by the crash, the ship, alas! filled and went down. At this fearful moment, the passengers and crew raised cries of distress, but their mouths were soon stopped by the swelling waves, and all perished together, except two who seized hold of the yard from which the sail was set. They hung on to it the greater part of the night, in earnest hope that they would receive aid in some shape or other. One of these men was a butcher of Rouen, of the name of Berold; the other, a young man of gentle birth whose name was Geoffrey, the son of Gilbert de l'Aigle.[2]

The moon was at this time in her nineteenth day in the constellation of the Bull, and gave light to the world for

[1] Historians have preserved the name of the rock on which the ship struck; *super scopulos qui dicuntur Chaterase.* The French editors of Ordericus suppose that these rocks are what are now called le Raz de Gatteville (formerly called Catteville), to the north of Barfleur. Chaterase they consider to mean the Raz-de-Catteville. Barfleur, near Cherbourg, enjoyed a considerable commerce in the middle ages, and was a common port of embarkation for England from that part of Normandy.

[2] See before, b. viii. c. 12. Gilbert de l'Aigle, his father Engenulf, and other lords of that family are frequently mentioned in the previous history.

nine hours, so that all objects on the surface of the sea were clearly visible to the sailors.[1] Thomas, the master of this vessel, after his first plunge into the sea, gained fresh energy, and, recovering his senses, raised his head above the water, and perceiving the two men clinging to the yard-arm, cried out: "What has become of the king's son?" The shipwrecked men replied that he and all who were with him had perished. "Then," said he, "it is misery for me to live any longer." Having said this, he abandoned himself to his fate in utter despair, preferring to meet it at once, rather than face the rage of the king in his indignation for the loss of his children, or drag out his existence and expiate his crime in a dungeon. Meanwhile, Berold and Geoffrey, hanging by the yard-arm over the waters, called upon God to save them, and encouraging one another, waited in fearful anxiety for the end to which it should please him to bring their misery.

The night was bitterly cold and frosty, so that the young Geoffrey, after severe sufferings from the severity of the weather, lost his powers of endurance, and commending his companion to God, fell into the sea and disappeared. Berold, however, who was the poorest man of all the company, and wore a sheep-skin dress, was the only one among so many who survived till the dawn of another day. In the morning, three fishermen took him into their skiff, and thus he only reached the land. Having a little revived, he related all the particulars of the sad event to the crowd of anxious inquirers, and lived afterwards for twenty years in good health.

Roger, bishop of Coutances,[2] had conducted on board the devoted ship his son William, who had been just appointed by the king one of his four principal chaplains, with his brother and three gallant nephews, and had given them his episcopal benediction, though they made light of it. The

[1] M. Le Prevost remarks that he is under the painful necessity of apprising the reader that this circumstance, which lends so poetical a character to our author's narrative, is entirely apocryphal, being inapplicable either to November 25, 1119, which was not the 19th but the 21st day of the moon, and when she was not in the sign of Taurus but in that of Leo; or to November 25, 1120, which was so near the new moon that she was invisible during the greater part of the night.

[2] Roger, bishop of Coutances, 1114—October, 1123.

bishop and many others who still lingered with him on the sea-shore, as well as the king, and those who accompanied him, though they were a long way out at sea, heard the fearful cries of distress raised by the shipwrecked crew and passengers, but they did not learn what caused the shrieks until the next day, and marvelling what it could be, conversed about it, some saying one thing, some another.

The melancholy news soon got abroad among the common people, and, spreading along the sea-coast, came to the ears of count Theobald [1] and other lords of the court; but for that day no one ventured to make it known to the king, who was in a state of great anxiety and made many inquiries. The nobles shed many tears in private, and were inconsolable for the loss of their friends and relations; but in the king's presence, severe as was the struggle, they concealed their grief, lest its cause should be discovered. On the day following, by a well-devised plan of Count Theobald's, a boy threw himself at the king's feet, weeping bitterly, and upon his being questioned as to the cause of his sorrow, the king learnt from him the shipwreck of the Blanche-Nef. So sudden was the shock, and so severe his anguish, that he instantly fell to the ground, but being raised up by his friends, he was conducted to his chamber, and gave free course to the bitterness of his grief. Not Jacob was more woe-stricken for the loss of Joseph, nor did David give vent to more woeful lamentations for the murder of Ammon or Absalom.

When such was the grief of their sovereign, all the servants of the crown no longer strove to conceal their sorrow, and their lamentations continued for many days. The people also mourned for William the etheling,[2] whom

[1] Theobald, Count de Blois.

[2] It does not appear from our own historians that the English felt any great regret for the loss of their young prince, apart from the shock which so melancholy a catastrophe must have naturally caused. Henry of Huntingdon attributes to him excessive pride and hauteur, and Brompton quotes William of Malmesbury as saying that he openly threatened the English that "if he came to reign over them, he would make them draw the plough like oxen." See Huntingdon's letter to Walter, p. 306, and Malmesbury's Mod. Hist. p. 454, in *Antiq. Lib.*

they considered the lawful heir to the throne of England, and who thus suddenly perished with the flower of her highest nobility. The young prince had at this time almost reached his seventeenth year; he had just married the lady Matilda, who was nearly of his own age; and lately, by his father's command, he had exultingly received the homage of all the great men of the realm. On him securely rested his father's love, the people's hopes; but short-sighted and sinful mortals scan in vain the decrees of the supreme and infallible Judge respecting his creatures, and the wicked go on in their transgressions until, like the fish caught by the hook, or the bird ensnared in the toils, they are irretrievably involved in endless misery. While such a man promises himself length of days, prosperity, and honour, he quickly falls into sudden destruction, misery, and ruin, as it has happened in daily occurrences from the beginning of the world to the present day, and may be clearly proved by the testimonies both of ancient and modern writers.[1]

The sorrowful king mourned for his sons, the flower of his nobility, and his principal barons, and especially he deplored the loss of Ralph the Red, and Gilbert d'Exmes, frequently recounting, with tears in his eyes, their deeds of prowess. The nobles as well as the commons lamented their superior lords, their children and kingsfolk, their acquaintance and friends; affianced damsels those to whom they were betrothed; and beloved wives ther loving husbands. I desire not to dwell on this mournful theme, and will only quote one short poem of a distinguished versifier:[2]—

[1] Our author, with his usual discretion, makes only a very slight allusion to the prevalent opinion of the times, particularly among the clergy, that the shipwreck was a just judgment of Heaven on an unnatural vice which was very common among the young nobles who were lost in the Blanche-Nef. Henry of Huntingdon makes the charge in direct terms. See his History, p. 249, in *Antiq. Lib.* Duke Robert himself was commonly accused of such practices, as we have before seen, and is said to have introduced them into Normandy on his return from the east.

[2] Whoever was the "versifier," perhaps Ordericus himself, even so fine a subject failed of inspiring his genius, and his lines are only remarkable for their rhymes and antitheses. Henry of Huntingdon, "one of the few composers of Latin verse in that age who rose above the common level," has some spirited lines on the subject, of which a free version is given in his History, p. 249, in the *Antiq. Lib.*

Accidit hora gravis, Thomæque miserrima navis,
Quam male recta terit, rupe soluta perit.
Flebilis eventus, dum nobilis illa juventus
Est immersa mari, perditione pari.
Jactatur pelago regum generosa propago,
Quosque duces plorant monstra marina vorant.
O dolor immensus! nec nobilitas, neque census
Ad vitam revocat, quos maris unda necat.
Purpura cum bisso liquida putrescit abysso;
Rex quoque quem genuit, piscibus esca fuit.
Sic sibi fidentes ludit Fortuna potentes;
Nunc dat, nunc demit; nunc levat, inde premit.
Quid numerus procerum, quid opes, quid gloria rerum,
Quid, Gulielme, tibi forma valebat ibi?
Marcuit ille decor regalis, et abstulit æquor
Quod factus fueras, quodque futurus eras.
Inter aquas istis instat damnatio tristis,
Ni pietas gratis cælica parcat eis.
Corporibus mercis animæ si dona salutis
Nactæ gauderent, mæsta procul fierent.
Certa salus animæ verum dat tripudiare
His bene, qui caros commemorant proprios.
Hinc dolor est ingens humana quod inscia fit mens,
An requies sit eis, quos quatit uda Thetis.

"The fatal hour is come, and Thomas's ill-fated ship, badly steered, struck on a rock and was wrecked! Melancholy event, when that youthful nobility was engulfed in the sea in one common ruin! The illustrious offspring of kings suffer shipwreck, and sea-monsters devour those whom princes deplore. O boundless grief! neither nobility nor fortune can recall to life those who are drowned in the sea. Purple and fine linen rot in its depths, and the children of kings are the food of fishes. Thus fortune mocks those who trust to its smiles; it gives, it takes away, it raises up and casts down. What availed thee, O William! thy numerous retinue of nobles, thy wealth, thy glory, or thy grace of form?—All the royal splendour has vanished, and for thee the waves have obliterated both the past and the future. Damnation pursues them in those dark waters, should not divine mercy vouchsafe to spare them. If, at the cost of their lives, their souls are saved, they will have reason to rejoice. Those may well exult who have a sure hope that the loved relatives whom they remember in their prayers have their salvation secured. But it is a grievous affliction to have

no certainty that those who are engulfed in the sea enjoy everlasting rest."

What mortal tongue can fully recount the numbers of those who had to mourn this fatal disaster, or the numerous domains which were deprived of their lawful heirs, to the great detriment of many persons? As we have already said, the king's sons, William and Richard, were amongst those who perished, with their sister Matilda, wife of Rotrou, count of Mortain.[1] There were also Richard, the young earl of Chester, distinguished for his bravery and kindness of heart, with his wife Matilda,[2] sister of Theobald, count palatine. Othere, his brother, son of Hugh, earl of Chester, and governor and tutor of the king's youngest son, at the moment when the Blanche-Nef went down and the nobles were hopelessly buried in the waves, took, as it is reported, the young prince in his arms, and sinking with him, they were never again seen. Theodoric, the nephew of Henry, emperor of Germany,[3] a mere boy; also two beautiful sons of Ives de Grantmesnil, with their cousin, William de Rhuddlan,[4] who was proceeding to England by the king's command to take possession of the inheritance of his ances-

[1] Malmesbury calls her the countess of Perche. Mortain was the capital of Perche, and gave that title to the counts. Rotrou's father Geoffrey being still living (see afterwards, b. xiii. c. 1), he may have been called count of Perche. Ordericus gives him the title of Count of Mortain by anticipation. Malmesbury relates an affecting incident in the fate of this lady which, with that mentioned a few lines below of the conduct of Othere, Richard's governor, are redeeming traits in the characters of two of the sufferers in a group of whom, generally, so little good is said. The historian informs us that "the water having washed some of the crew overboard and entering the chinks drowned others, the boat was launched, and the young prince getting into it might certainly have been saved by reaching the shore, had not his illegitimate sister, the countess of Perche, now struggling with death in the larger vessel, implored her brother's assistance, shrieking out that he should not abandon her so barbarously. Touched with pity, he ordered the boat to return to the ship, that he might rescue his sister; and thus the unhappy youth met his death through excess of affection; for the skiff, overcharged by the multitude who leaped into it, sank, and buried all indiscriminately in the deep." *Mod. Hist.* p. 456, *Antiq. Lib.*

[2] The king's niece.

[3] Probably a son of Agnes, the emperor's sister, and Frederick, duke of Suabia.

[4] William de Rhuddlan, son of Robert de Rhuddlan. See b. viii. c. 3. (Vol. iii. pp. 443—454.)

tors in that country; William, surnamed Bigod,[1] William de Pirou,[2] the king's steward; Geoffery Ridel,[3] Hugh de Moulins,[4] Robert Mauconduit,[5] and Gisulf, the king's iniquitous secretary; all these, and many other persons of distinction were swallowed up by the sea. Relations and acquaintances, comrades and friends, wailed their miserable fate, when, in different countries, they learnt the desolation and bereavements occasioned by their death. It is said of those who perished that there were no less than eighteen females who were either daughters, sisters, nieces, or wives of kings or earls.

Concern for others has been my only motive in furnishing these details, which, having collected from authentic information, I am induced to record for the benefit of future ages. For myself, I have none to mourn, except from common feelings of pity, as no one of my kindred was swallowed up in that horrible gulf, for whom I had to shed the tears which flow for the loss of those who are of our own blood.

The dwellers on the coast, as soon as they ascertained that the reports of the disaster was well founded, dragged to the shore the wreck of the ship, with the whole of the royal treasure; and almost all that was in the vessel, the crew and passengers excepted, was recovered. Active men were diligently employed on the seventh of the calends of December [25th November], while the faithful were celebrating the feast of St. Catherine,[6] virgin and

[1] Probably a son or brother of Roger Bigod.

[2] William, lord of Pirou, near Lessai, whose family, and probably this lord, were benefactors to the abbey of Lessai. They were also re-established in England, where they gave their name to Stoke-Pirou, or Pero, in Somersetshire. We find in the *Monast. Anglican.* ii. p. 7, a charter of Henry I. with the subscription, *Ego Gulielmus Pirou, dapifer*, which would seem to prove that this person escaped the shipwreck, as his signature is preceded by that of the queen, Adelaide of Louvaine.

[3] He was son-in-law of Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester. His widow Geva founded the abbey of Canwell in Staffordshire. See *Monast. Anglic.*, i. p. 439. Her daughter married Richard Basset, and their son, Geoffrey Basset, who lived in the time of Henry II., resumed the name of Ridel.

[4] Third son of William de Moulins.

[5] In a transaction between the abbey of Fécamp and Philip de Braiouse in 1103 (*Mon. Anglic.*, ii. p. 973), we find a *Gulielmus Malus Conductus*, who was probably father of the person here named.

[6] The 25th November is the feast of St. Catherine; but if the ship was

martyr, in searching along the coast for the bodies of those who were drowned, but finding none, they lost their expected rewards. Rich lords caused diligent inquiries to be made in all quarters for good swimmers and experienced divers, and offered them large sums for any bodies of their deceased friends which could be recovered, in order that they might be buried with due honour.

The tenants on the fief of Mortain especially exerted themselves, as almost all the lords and men of distinction in that county had perished in the wreck of the Blanche-Nef. The count only, as I have already mentioned, who was suffering from diarrhea, with two men-at-arms, Robert de Sauqueville, and one Walter, escaped; having providentially quitted the vessel in which those who remained were lost; and, going on board the king's own ship, they crossed the sea in safety.[1] However, the bodies of earl Richard and several others were found some days after the shipwreck far from the spot where the vessel was lost; having been carried to the spot by the force of the currents, as the tide daily ebbed and flowed; and their persons were identified by those who were acquainted with them, from the clothes they wore.

CH. XXVII. *Pope Calixtus II. returns to Rome—His pontificate—The antipope Bourdin arrested, and kept in confinement till his death.*

IN the year of our Lord 1120, the thirteenth indiction, pope Calixtus, having restored order in the ecclesiastical affairs of France, returned to Italy, having in his company a great number of men of rank, of both orders; and being well received by the Romans governed the apostolical see for five years.[2] This pope performed, by God's grace, many good works, and was the brightest light and the best model of virtues the church had in our times. He caused the anti-

wrecked on the night between the 25th and 26th, as our author has before stated, the search for the bodies could not have commenced before the 26th.

[1] As the king's ship sailed before the Blanche-Nef, this statement can only be reconciled with that circumstance by supposing that the count and his two attendants hurried from one vessel to the other just in time to embark with the king.

[2] Pope Calixtus reached Rome June 3, 1120. We have already mentioned the duration of his pontificate.

pope Bourdin who was tyrannizing over the church to be arrested at Sutri, and shut him up in the monastery of La Cava to prevent his again disturbing catholic unity by his howlings.[1] This monastery is the habitation of monks who are allowed by their rule a plentiful table and abundance of all things necessary for subsistence. It stands on a spot which is almost inaccessible, so that no one can approach it but by one path, whence it derives its significant name of La Cava. For as lions, bears, and other wild beasts are confined in caves, in order that, not being able to roam at large, they may not make cruel attacks on men or cattle, so, savage and unruly men, who wander about and perform their mischievous gambles like the wild asses of the desert, are compelled in this cave of discipline to live under regular rule in the service of God.

CH. XXVIII. *Henry I. marries Adelaide of Louvain—He distributes the estates of the lords who perished at sea.*

KING Henry, having lost his wife and his son, resolved after consulting his council, to contract another marriage, and having selected Adelaide, the beautiful daughter of the duke of Louvain,[2] the marriage was celebrated with the Christian rites, the king wearing the ensigns of royalty; and the queen was crowned by the ministrations of the priesthood.[3] She adorned the court and kingdom for fifteen years, but though richly endowed in other respects, to this day[4] she has borne the king no child.

[1] Bourdin, the antipope, having been arrested at Sutri by the aid of the Normans in Italy, was conducted with ignominy to Rome, mounted on a camel, April 23, 1121, and sent in captivity to the celebrated abbey of La Cava. He was afterwards transferred to Janula, and again, in 1124, to Fumone, where he died at a very advanced age.

[2] Queen Adelaide, or Alice, was the daughter of Geoffrey I., surnamed The Bearded, duke of Brabant and Louvain, by Ida of Namur. The king was then fifty-one years old.

[3] The marriage was celebrated at Windsor, which being in the diocese of Salisbury, the bishop of that see was on the point of giving the nuptial benediction, and had already put on his pontifical robes, when the archbishop, Ralph d'Escures, who was supposed to be prevented from travelling by a paralytic affection, made his appearance, and gave directions to the bishop of Worcester to proceed with the ceremony, instead of the bishop of the diocese.

[4] This passage must have been written before the death of Henry I.

The king distributed with exemplary justice the domains of those who perished in the shipwreck amongst those who survived them, giving their wives, daughters, and nieces with the inheritance of their deceased relatives to his young nobles, thus affording consolation to a number of persons, and liberally endowing them beyond their expectations.

Ranulf of Bayeux obtained the earldom of Chester, with all the patrimony of Earl Richard, being the next heir as nephew of Matilda, Earl Hugh's sister. Ranulf married Lucy,[1] widow of Roger, son of Gerald, by whom she had William Ranulf, who succeeded at his death to the earldom of Chester, and all his paternal inheritance on both sides of the sea.

Ch. XXIX. *Fulk, count of Anjou, goes to Jerusalem, and joins the Knights-Templars—On his return, he grants them a yearly subsidy.*

Fulk, count of Anjou, having concluded a peace with the king of England, and ratified the alliance by a union between their children, as before mentioned, became anxious for the safety of his soul, and very desirous of being reconciled to God. In consequence, he devoted himself to doing penance for the sins he had committed, and leaving the government of his territories to his wife and his sons Geoffrey and Elias, who were of tender age, he went in pilgrimage to Jerusalem,[2] and there, joining the Knights-Templars, remained for some time. Returning home, with their permission, he voluntary agreed to pay them a tribute, bestowing upon them annually three hundred livres[3] of Anjou. Thus did this illustrious count pay a yearly subsidy to the reverend knights, whose whole life is spent in combating for

[1] Lucy's first husband was Ives Taillebois; her second, Roger, son of Gerald, and brother of William de Roumare. It is remarked that there was only the interval of a month between the two marriages. By her second husband she had a son named William after his uncle, who had attained his majority or nearly so when she married for the third time. Respecting this lady, see the Continuator of Ingulf.

[2] He set out April 20, 1120, and began his journey homewards Sept. 24, in the year following.

[3] M. Leopold Delisle calculates the livre of Anjou to have been worth about thirty-four or thirty-five francs of the present day, which multiplied by thirty would make about one thousand francs in intrinsic value, and more than six thousand according to the present value of money.

God, both with body and soul, and who despising all worldly things, are daily prepared for martyrdom; and his laudable example induced several other French lords to imitate his liberality.

CH. XXX. *Abbot Pons quits Cluni—His successors—Returns to Cluni—His disorderly intrusion—The abbey pillaged—His imprisonment at Rome—Excommunication and death.*

AFTER the council of Rheims, concerning which I have related many particulars, the archbishop of Lyons, the bishop of Mâcon, and many other bishops, greatly harassed the monks of Cluni, depriving them of several of their domains which had been granted them by others, and inciting the clergy, who are always jealous of the monks, to rebel against them. They heaped insults upon them throughout their dioceses, and grievously oppressed them by their own acts and by means of their subordinates. Thus the brethren, unable to bear these losses and injuries, were in great tribulation, and took refuge in the sheepfold of the monastery, like sheep fleeing from the jaws of wolves. There also sprung up a bitter controversy between the monks themselves in the interior of their house. Some of them stirred up jealousies against their Abbot Pons, and accused him before Pope Calixtus at Rome of being passionate, as well as lavish in his administration, and of wasting the funds of the monastery in useless litigation. On hearing this Pons, was very indignant, and without reflection, resigning his office of abbot into the pope's hands, went on a pilgrimage, and spent some time at Jerusalem, Mount Thabor, and other sacred places in Palestine, where the Lord Jesus conversed in the flesh with the poor Nazarenes. The pope, incensed at the departure of Pons without his licence and benediction, commanded the monks of Cluni to elect a proper person to preside over them, and their choice fell on Hugh, a most excellent old man; but this abbot died three months afterwards, and the monks buried him on the north side of the apsis of the choir, and caused the following epitaph to be inscribed on the vaulted tomb of stone erected over his grave:

Hic Cluniacensis jacet abbas Hugo secundus,
Patre Besontinus, Lugdunensis genitrice;
Religione nitens, grandævus, amore, pioque

Semper ovans cultu, tibi, summe Creator, inhæsit,
In requie tecum modo felix vivat in ævum!

"Here lies Hugh the second, abbot of Cluni, whose father was of Besançon, his mother of Lyons. Eminent for piety, advanced in years, and unceasingly zealous in the love and the service of God, he was devoted to thee, O Sovereign Creator. May he rest and live with thee in bliss eternal!"

After this, the monks of Cluni elected for their abbot a pious, noble, and learned brother, named Peter, under whose government they have now lived for many years.

Meanwhile Abbot Pons enjoyed a great reputation in Judæa, and the fame of his piety and elevation of soul was spread abroad among foreign nations. Then, with the instability natural to human imperfection, he left the land of the prophets and apostles and returned to France, where he caused great trouble to many minds; for, on his return from the east, having paid a visit to the brethren who were his friends at Cluni, a disgraceful schism, instigated by Satan, arose between the monks. Bernard-le-Gros, who was then prior, is said to have been the author and fomenter of this dissension. Some of the monks resolved to receive Pons as their abbot with great honours, while others made a determined opposition. The men of arms and other provincial peasants and burghers, welcomed him back, being attached to him for his affability and sumptuous style of living; and when they discovered the schism among the monks they broke into the monastery, and by force of arms intruded Pons and his friends, though he protested against it.[1] Shame to say, these ruffians stormed the monastery walls, and as if it had been a city taken by assault, set themselves instantly to plunder, and sacrilegiously pillaged the furniture and utensils of the servants of God. The dormitory and infirmary, and other private apartments of the monks, which none of the laity had been allowed to enter, were now thrown open, not only to men and women of good repute, but to buffoons and prostitutes.

On the same day, a terrible prodigy happened at Cluni:

[1] The forcible intrusion of Pons into his former abbey took place in 1125. Our author has strangely misrepresented this outrage, which had no other object than pillage, and the carrying off all the precious objects, the sacred vessels, and reliquaries of this rich abbey, converted into ingots.

the great nave of the church which had been lately erected, fell down, but through God's protection no one was hurt. Thus the Lord in his goodness struck terror by this sudden disaster into those who were guilty of this scandalous outrage, but in his boundless mercy saved them all. The rabble had, indeed, penetrated into every part of the monastery, and were guilty of the most shameless outrages,[1] but by divine mercy they were preserved in a wonderful manner from being crushed in this fearful catastrophe, in order that they might have time to repent. Peter the abbot was absent at the time, having gone into distant countries for the good of the numerous brotherhood who were under his charge. The monks who adhered to his party hastened to join him, and gave him an account of the injuries and losses to which the servants of God had been subjected; but instead of returning to Cluni, he proceeded to Rome without loss of time, and laid before the pope[2] what had occurred, to which the monks who had suffered in the affair bore witness. The pope was much afflicted on hearing this statement, both on account of the insults offered to the monks, and the sins of the people who had infringed the divine laws. He therefore promptly cited Pons to appear before him, enjoining him to abide the judgment of the apostolic see, and answer the charges which were made against him. Pons came to Rome, but was in no hurry to present himself to the pope, and though summoned refused to appear and plead to the charge on the appointed day.

In consequence, the Roman pontiff dismissed Peter to Cluni with apostolical letters and the emblems of his dignity, and enjoined the monks to pay full obedience to him according to the order of St. Benedict. The commands of the pope were obeyed, and Abbot Peter, triumphant in the issue of his appeal, was well received by the monks; who have submitted to his government to the present time, laudably combating for the divine law. Some days afterwards the pope caused Pons to be arrested by his officers for contempt of the apostolical authority, and committed him to prison; where shortly afterwards, he fell sick, being overwhelmed with the most

[1] These disorders lasted from the beginning of Lent till the month of October.

[2] Honorius II.

poignant sorrow, and, ending his days in confinement, was generally lamented.[1] Thus, as the poet says

> Principium fini solet impar esse videri,
> Oft the beginning differs from the end,

every one ought by his hearty prayers and invocations to intercede with God, the source of all good, that he, who hath begun a good work in us may perfect, confirm it, and protect it, both in prosperity and adversity, until the faithful champion receives the reward of the heavenly inheritance.

CH. XXXI. *An earthquake in England—Appointments to abbeys and bishoprics—Mostly Normans preferred—Ralph d'Escures, Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded by William de Curboil, a canon—The archbishops had been generally monks.*

[1119.] IN the thirteenth indiction, on Sunday the fourth of the calends of October [28th September], about tierce, when mass was singing, there was a great earthquake in England, and the walls and masonry of the churches were cracked in four counties. It was felt in the shires of Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Gloucester, and the neighbouring districts, and struck the inhabitants with such consternation that they were in terror of their lives. Subsequently, several hierarchs of churches in England and Normandy departed this life; and, under the dispensations of divine providence, resigned the burden of the prelacy, which they ambitiously bore, to others.

Geoffrey of Orleans,[2] abbot of Croyland, a pious and

[1] The ex-abbot Pons died December 28, 1128. Although he had been excommunicated, and in a state of flagrant rebellion against the holy see, our author, echoing the fanatical party who were attached to him, speaks just before of his sanctity, proved, as he says, by the miracles wrought at his tomb; for by an indulgence which appears somewhat strange his remains were conveyed to Cluni. He was represented on this tomb with his feet bound, to betoken his excommunication.

[2] Geoffrey of Orleans had been prior of St. Evroult. He succeeded Ingulf the historian as abbot of Croyland in 1119 (see his Chronicle, p. 233, in *Antiq. Lib.*), and died in 1124. His successor Waltheof was probably brother of Cospatric, "Frater Gaii Patricii;" our author calls him earl of Dunbar. See *Monast. Anglic.*, i. p. 400. This Cospatric had large possessions in Yorkshire. He and his brother were probably sons of Cospatric, earl of Northumberland, in 1069. Waltheof was deposed in 1138 by the legate Alberic.

pleasant man, departed on the nones [5th] of June, and was succeeded by Waltheof, brother of Cospatrick, of a noble English family; also, Aldbold the Jerusalemite,[1] abbot of St. Edmunds,[2] king and martyr, and who had been a monk of Bec, died suddenly. After him Anselm, nephew of the archbishop of the same name, governed the abbey for a number of years. On the death of Robert de Limesi,[3] bishop of the Mercians [Chester and Coventry]; Robert, surnamed Pecceth succeeded him; at whose death, Roger, the nephew of Geoffrey de Clinton[4] obtained the bishopric; after the death of Thorold, abbot of Peterborough, it was administered by the noble Matthias,[5] of Mount St. Michael,

[1] Not that Aldbold was a native of Jerusalem, as it is said in the *Monasticon;* but he had made a pilgrimage there.

[2] Our author calls him *de Bedrici-Rure abbas.* Aldbold, who had been prior of St. Nicaisius at Meulan in 1115, died March 1, 1119. Anselm, nephew of St. Anselm, and abbot of St. Saba at Rome, succeeded Aldbold in 1121, and was nominated and enthroned as bishop of London in 1136; but his election having been contested, he returned to his abbey, which he administered till his death in 1148. This abbot had been previously sent to England by the pope as legate of the holy see, but the king refused him admission.

[3] Robert de Limesi, who transferred the episcopal see from Chester to Coventry in 1095, died August 30, 1117. Robert Pecceth, who succeeded him, had been employed in the pantry of Henry I. He was consecrated by archbishop Ralph at Abingdon, and died August 21 or 22, 1127.

[4] Roger de Clinton paid the king three thousand silver marks for the bishopric of Coventry. He was ordained priest, December 21, 1129, consecrated bishop at Canterbury the day following, and died at Antioch, April 16, 1148.

[5] After the death of the fierce abbot Thorold, Godric, the brother of his predecessor Brandon, administered the abbey of Peterborough. It then passed into the hands of Matthias, brother of Geoffrey Ridel, the king's justiciary. It is probable that this Geoffrey Ridel is the person of that name described as having perished with his wife, daughter of the earl of Chester, in the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef.* After him came Arnulf, a Frenchman, who had been a monk of St. Lucien at Beauvais, and was afterwards prior of Canterbury. Arnulf, being raised to the see of Rochester in 1114, was replaced by John of Séez, who appears to have been invited to England by the archbishop, Ralph d'Escures, and was one of the three persons he commissioned to fetch his pallium from Rome. John of Séez having died of dropsy in the month of October, 1125, the king retained the abbey in his own hands for two years, and then sold it, according to his usual custom, in the month of May, 1128, to Henry of Anjou his kinsman, who was also related to the count of Anjou, and already abbot of St. John d'Angeli. Our limits will not allow of our tracing all the eccentricities of the life of this turbulent ecclesiastic,

who was succeeded by John, a monk of Séez, a man of deep learning. At his death, the king gave the abbey *in commendam* to his cousin Henry, who had been abbot of St. John d'Angeli, but was expelled by the monks and William, duke of Poitou. After Fulchered, the first abbot of Shrewsbury, who regulated divine worship in the convent, Godfrey, a monk of Séez had the pastoral care of it entrusted to him.[1] Upon his dying suddenly soon afterwards, Herbert took the government of this rising community. Guntard, the strenuous abbot of Thorney, having departed this life, Robert de Prunières[2] was appointed in his place. He was chosen from the monks of St. Evroult for this preferment on account of his great endowments in learning and eloquence and his excellent character.

In the time of Pope Paschal, Ralph, the archbishop of Canterbury, sought the king in Normandy, and thence set out for Rome, although he was suffering from a swelling in his feet; but hearing on the road of the pope's death, he returned to Rouen, and stayed nearly five years in Normandy. While he was there, on the feast of the Translation of St. Benedict, which is observed by the monks with great solemnity, mass being ended, at the moment when he was being disrobed of his episcopal vestments, he was suddenly struck with paralysis, and lost the use of speech. Some days afterwards, from the care lavished upon him by his physicians, he could speak a little, but never fully recovered the powers of speech. He survived for two years in this paralytic state, having been conveyed to his own see in a carriage conveniently adapted for his accommodation.

who was successively bishop of Soissons, monk and prior of Cluni, prior of Savenay, archbishop of Besançon for three days, bishop of Saintes for seven, at war with the monks of Peterborough, and then driven out of England; and returned at last in the month of January, 1131, to die at his abbey of St. John d'Angeli, of which he had been never dispossessed since his first appointment in 1003.

[1] Fulchered, who had been a monk of Séez, died in March, 1113. Godfrey, another monk of Séez, and also abbot of Shrewsbury, died March 22, 1128. Herbert, a monk of Shrewsbury, was consecrated the same year as abbot of that monastery by William, archbishop of Canterbury. The time of his death is not known. Herbert translated the relics of St. Winifred from Wales to Shrewsbury.

[2] Robert de Prunières became abbot of Thorney in 1140, and died in 1147. Concerning this abbot, see before, b. viii. c. 18, and xi. c. 32.

At last, in the year of our Lord, 1123,[1] the first indiction, Archbishop Ralph died at Canterbury on the thirteenth of the calends of November [20th October]; after the see had remained void for several years, he was succeeded by William de Curboil,[2] a regular canon. In this case, the canons departed from their ancient custom, on account of their jealousy of the monks. Augustine, a monk, was the first who preached the gospel in England, and converting King Ethelbert and his nephew Sebert, with the people of Kent and London, to the Christian faith,[3] was thereupon created by Pope Gregory primate and metropolitan of all England. From that time, all the archbishops of Canterbury except Frigeard, Odo, and Stigand, were monks; Frigeard[4] was

[1] Ralph d'Escures died August 20, 1122. Respecting this prelate, see before, b. vi. c. 4. We have the authority of Eadmer, which is better than our author's, for fixing his death a year earlier than we find it in the text.

[2] William de Curboil, February 2, 1123—November 24, 1136. This prelate is sometimes called William de Turbine. He was previously prior of St. Osyth.

[3] A.D. 597.

[4] M. Le Prevost's note says that "the prelate whom our author calls *Frigeardus*, is designated in the Anglo-Saxon chronology by the name of *Feologildus*. He flourished under Lothaire, king of Kent. His journey to Rome must have been made between 778 and 782, the period of Pope Agatho's pontificate."

Several errors have crept into this passage, an unusual occurrence in our accurate friend's annotations. The date assigned for Pope Agatho's pontificate is probably a misprint; it should have been 679—682, a period nearly coinciding with Lothaire's reign in Kent. But we find no cotemporary bishop answering to the name of *Frigeard* or *Feologild*, nor any corresponding occurrence during this time. On the contrary, Theodore, a prelate of great celebrity, filled the see of Canterbury from 668—690. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to which we presume the note refers, an *abbot* named Feologild (in some versions Theologild), is stated to have been raised to the archbishopric, in place of Wulfred, in 829; and, dying about two months afterwards, to have been succeeded by Ceolnoth. Florence of Worcester takes no notice of Feologild in his Chronicle, but duly places him in his catalogue of the archbishops.

It is clear, however, from the dates alone, were there no other reason, that this cannot be the person referred to by Ordericus, nor can we admit the name of Frigeard to be identical with Feologild. Our author, as well as his commentator, has fallen into serious errors; and we are inclined to think that *Frigeard* is synonymous with *Wigheard*, a "priest" who, we are told in the Saxon Chronicle, being sent to Rome in 667 that he might be there consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, died soon afterwards; and Theodore was appointed in his place. But this occurred in

the chaplain of King Lothaire, and being elected to the archbishopric, went to Rome to receive consecration from Pope Agatho. The pope having deferred it for ten days, while Frigeard was waiting for the benediction, he fell ill and took to his bed, and so died without receiving the apostolic unction. Odo was chosen from among the secular clergy for his noble extraction and courtesy of manners, but after his consecration, finding that all his predecessors had been monks, he voluntarily assumed the monastic habit with much devotion, and served God in sincerity, both as monk and archbishop, till the day of his death.[1] As for Stigand, he was a chaplain of Queen Emma, a very ambitious and worldly-minded man, who first usurped the see of London, and then that of Canterbury. But he never received the pallium from the pope at Rome; on the contrary, he was interdicted by Pope Alexander from exercising the archiepiscopal functions, and only profaned Harold when he gave him the benediction and crowned him. Being puffed up at having procured his elevation by his own means, he was humiliated

the reign of Oswy, king of Northumbria, and Egbert of Kent, and in the popedom of Vitalian, instead of Lothaire and Agatho, as our author represents. Florence of Worcester repeats the statement of the Chronicle, with the addition that Wigheard was one of the "clerks" of Deusdedit, the late archbishop, meaning one of the canons or secular clergy. William of Malmesbury confirms this, and (b. iii. c. 29, and iv. c. 1) gives some further details respecting the archbishop-elect; among others, that "he was snatched away, with almost all the companions of his journey, soon after he reached Rome, by a pestilence which happened at that time." But the circumstance of Wigheard's having been one of the secular clergy and not a monk, appears conclusive of the correctness of our supposition; it being the express object of our author in this passage to point out the very few persons among that class of ecclesiastics who were advanced to the archbishopric during a long course of years. Feologild, it will be observed, could not have been the person meant, for he was a monk and abbot.

[1] St. Odo was archbishop of Canterbury from before 946—958. Very little is said of him in English history, the principal fact being his cruel separation of King Edwy from Elgiva. Henry of Huntingdon describes this archbishop as "eminent for his talent, worth, and virtues, and gifted with a prophetic spirit." His belonging to the secular clergy, his high birth, and courteousness of manners, all which we learn from Ordericus, render the accounts of his extreme severity to the young king and Elgiva the more remarkable. He was succeeded by Ælfsige, who, being frozen to death in crossing the Alps on his way to Rome to receive the pallium, was succeeded by Dunstan.

by God, and left to mourn over his own ruin; for when William the First was established on the throne, Stigand was deposed by a synod for flagrant offences; and therefore he ought not to be reckoned in the list of archbishops.[1]

The English nation were attached to the monks, because they owed to them their conversion to Christianity, and in consequence they always paid them great reverence; and even the clergy showed their respect and good will to the order, by being very content that monks should be preferred in lieu of themselves. But now, customs and laws are changed, and the clergy advance their own order, for the purpose of humbling and crushing the monks.

Ch. XXXII. *Resignation of Roger du Sap, abbot of St. Evroult—His letter to King Henry—Warin d'Essarts appointed abbot—Death of Roger.*

About this time, Roger, abbot of St. Evroult,[2] worn out with age and infirmities, lost his former vigour, and was very anxious to be released from the burden of his pastoral care. He, therefore, sent to England Ernand de Tilleul, and Gilbert des Essarts,[3] two honourable monks, with a

[1] Stigand was first preferred to the see of Elmham (1038) and then to that of Selsey. It was Winchester, not London, to which he was translated in 1047, and endeavoured to hold with the archbishopric of Canterbury, when elevated to it in 1053, on the expulsion of Archbishop Robert. Whatever may have been the irregularities of this aspiring prelate, his principal fault, in the eyes of the Conqueror, was his being an Englishman and an adherent of Harold. The synod at Winchester, held in 1070, at which he was deposed, was employed by the king, as Florence of Worcester informs us, "to deprive the English of their ecclesiastical dignities, in order that he might appoint persons of his own nation to their preferments, and thus confirm his power in his new kingdom."

[2] Roger du Sap. He had been abbot of St. Evroult from the year 1091; see vol. ii. p. 260 and 522, 523. Ordericus says, in his preface to this history, that the work was commenced by the command of this abbot, when he was advanced in years. Roger du Sap resigned in 1123, and died, as we shall presently find, January 13, 1126.

[3] Arnold de Tilleul-en-Auge, son of Humphrey de Tilleul and Adeliza de Grantmesnil, and brother of Robert de Rhuddlan and William, abbot of St. Eufemia. Arnold had been commissioned by the chapter of St. Evroult to present Roger du Sap to Duke Robert at Windsor, in 1091, he being then in England. See vol. ii. p. 523.

Gilbert des Essarts-en-Ouche, a small commune near St. Evroult.

letter addressed to the king, and written out by Ralph Lawrence, to the following purport:—

"*To his glorious lord, Henry, king of England, Roger, the unworthy minister of St. Evroult, sends greeting in the name of Him who giveth health and salvation to kings.*

"Forasmuch as the apostle saith there is no power which is not of God, and the things that be are ordained of God, it behoves that every one to whom power is entrusted should provide for the welfare of God's house. I, therefore, my lord, who, unworthy as I am, have, under God's providence and the noble government of your excellency, filled the place of abbot in ministering to the brethren of the monastery of St. Evroult, and, sustained by your protection, have, more to my burden than honour, filled the office for a great number of years; but now, worn with age and infirm in body, and fearing lest I should harm rather than profit the church, when the manners of men are undergoing a change from the vicissitudes of the times, after taking counsel with my spiritual fathers, the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Lisieux, and of several abbots and other men of the ecclesiastical order, humbly implore your clemency to take pity on one to whom you have hitherto shown some small degree of regard, and release him from a burden for which he is now useless and become incapable, and, in the wisdom which God has given you, provide a fit and proper pastor for this house of God. At the same time, that it may not be supposed I use these things as a pretext for obtaining repose for myself by withdrawing from the community in consequence of their disorderly or turbulent conduct, I bear witness before God to their charity, obedience, and simplicity; for, nourished with the milk and solid aliment abundantly provided by the maternal care of the church, I have found them always docile in conforming to the injunctions of their spiritual father, whom they have implicitly obeyed. Alleging, most excellent king, as my only reason, my wretched state of weakness, arising from age and my utter incapability, I entreat you not to postpone the granting my request. Sinner as I am, I devoutly pray the King of kings that He may vouchsafe to co-operate with you in this matter. Farewell."

In consequence, the king, full of benevolence, lamented the infirmities of the simple-minded and pious old man, and issued letters-patent to the convent of monks, directing them to elect for themselves a good and proper abbot. Wherefore, on the return of the messengers, sixty-six monks assembled in chapter at St. Evroult, in the name of the Lord, and attentively heard the reading of the chapter of the rule of St. Benedict, which relates to the election of an abbot. Then the venerable abbot, Roger, and his spiritual sons, having discoursed on the cure of souls, chose one of themselves, in the Lord's name, to supply the place of abbot. Warin des Essarts, surnamed the Little,[1] was the monk elected; and in this they followed the example of the apostles, who chose by lot Matthias, God's little servant,[2] to complete the number of the twelve; and he was accordingly ordained. The two old monks before-mentioned, by order of the convent, presented their brother-elect to John, bishop of Lisieux; and with his leave crossed the sea in the cold and storms of the winter season, and journeying in search of the king, who was then taking a survey of Northumbria, they travelled by long roads, deep in mud, till they found him at York, on the feast of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra [6th Dec.]. The illustrious king, having learnt the proceedings of the monks, confirmed the election, and by the advice of Thurstan, archbishop of York,[3] conferred the abbey on the brother-elect; Stephen, abbot of Chartres, who was afterwards patriarch,[4] being witness to the instrument. The king then granted to abbot Warin all the possessions of the monastery, with the dignities and privileges which his predecessors had enjoyed to that time; and for his security

[1] Warin des Essarts, near St. Evroult, elected abbot, 1123: died, June 20, 1137. Ordericus submits his history to him in the last sentence of the preface.

[2] We find no authority in the Acts of the Apostles for this description of the person of St. Matthias. It was probably borrowed from one of those apocryphal works with which it would appear that the library of St. Evroult was abundantly supplied in our author's time.

[3] The pope had so peremptorily demanded the revocation of Thurstan's banishment, that the king and archbishop Ralph were obliged to give way, though with great reluctance. Thurstan was therefore enthroned at York in 1121.

[4] Stephen, abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée at Chartres, afterwards patriarch of Jerusalem in 1128.

against all cavillers gave him a charter to the following purport:—

"Henry, king of England, to John, bishop of Lisieux, Stephen, count of Mortain, Robert de la Haye,[1] and all his barons and liege-men in Normandy, sends greeting: Know ye, that I have given and granted the abbey of St. Evroult to abbot Warin; and my will is, and I strictly command, that he shall hold the same in peace and quietness, and in all honour; with the churches and tithes, lands, woods, and commons, and all the appurtenances, in such manner as any of his predecessors held the same, in peace, quietness, and honour. Witnesses, Thurstan, archbishop of York; William de Tankerville, and William D'Aubigni, at York."

Warin returned to Normandy, supported by the sovereign authority of the puissant monarch, and having duly performed, with his brethren, the services of Lent, received the benediction from John, bishop of Lisieux, on Ascension day; and thence learnt to endure the labours and sorrows of the pastoral care. He is more especially deserving of praise for his kind offices to the venerable Roger, to whom, during the three years he survived, he performed the duties of a son to a father, a disciple to a master.[2] The gentle old man occupied himself in his chamber, as he was before accustomed, in psalms, and prayers, and religious conversation. He was attended by a worthy priest as his chaplain, with whom he could talk; hearing him say mass and the canonical office in the oratory of St. Martin's,[3] and conversing with him in question and answer on mysterious passages of the Holy Scriptures and the flowers of ascetic treatises. He had always felt the weight of exterior cares to be injurious and insupportable, and now that he enjoyed a secure and honourable freedom, he gave thanks to God, and, tranquil as well as free, expected with joy the end of his days.

[1] This is probably the same Robert de La Haie, nephew of Eudes-the-Steward, who granted a charter giving lands in England. See *Gallia Christiania*, vol. xi. col. 233.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 260.

[3] M. Le Prevost appears to consider that this is the church of St. Martin mentioned before, vol. ii. p. 288; but we rather incline to think, after examining the locality, that the "oratory" was attached to the church or the abbey at St. Evroult; it not being probable that the infirm old man would go out of the precincts to perform his daily devotions.

At last, in the year of our Lord, 1126, the fourth indiction, the pious old man became more sick than he had usually been, and having been anointed with the holy oil, and completed all the other rites which are fitting for a servant of God, he expired on the ides [the 13th] of January. His disciple and successor, with the rest of the fraternity, commended his soul to God, and on the day following his body was brought into the chapter-house and buried there with great reverence, by the side of abbot Osbern. I composed a short epilogue to his memory in hexameter verses, in which more regard is had to truth than to poetical diction. Praying for him to the benignant Saviour, and recounting the virtues divinely implanted in him, I wrote thus:—

Mitem sincerumque patrem, rex Christe, Rogerum,
Salva; nam pro te toleravit multa benigne.
Rura, domos et velle suum dimisit egenus,
Teque sequi studuit per iter virtutis anhelus.
Gervasiusque pater illi fuit, Emmaque mater,
In quibus emicuit morum jubar et decus amplum.
Presbyter instructus documentis ultro Rogerus,
Sumsit ovans almi monachi jugum Benedicti.
Multa diu mores ejus possedit honestas,
Qua meruit sociis præponi rector et abbas.
Præsule nam facto Serlone Salaribus, iste
Cænobii sancti regimen suscepit Ebrulfi.
Quinquies undenis monachus bene floruit annis,
Unde ter undenis Utici fit pastor ovilis.
Hic monachos novies denos in discipulatu
Suscepit, rigidoque regi docuit monachatu.
Simplex et dulcis, studiisque nitens bonitatis,
Quos monuit verbis, exemplis profuit alnis.
Denique confectus senio, terris sua membra
Deposuit, Jani duodena luce peracta.
Abstersis culpis, bone rex, da gaudia lucis.
Pacis amator erat; rogo nunc in pace quiescat! Amen.

"O Christ, king of kings, give salvation to Roger, the devout father who suffered much with patience for thy cause! He gave up house and lands, and his own will, and became poor; and strove, breathless, to follow thy steps on the road to righteousness. He had Gervase for his father and Emma for his mother, who were eminent for their virtues and graces. Roger the priest being well taught in sacred learning, took on him with joy the monastic yoke of the blessed Benedict. During his long career he distinguished himself

by the excellence of his life, and deserved well to be chosen by his brethren their ruler and abbot. For when Serlo was made bishop of Séez, he succeeded to the government of the abbey of Evroult. For fifty-five years he was a monk there; during thirty-three of which he was the shepherd of the flock. He admitted ninety monks into the community, and taught them the rule of severe monastic discipline. He was simple and kind, zealous in the cause of good, and those he admonished in words he also profited by his worthy example. At length, worn out by age, he gave his body to the earth when the twelfth day of January was ended, Merciful King, cleanse him of his sins, and grant him the joys of light! He was a lover of peace: I pray for him that he may rest in peace! Amen."

CH. XXXIII. *Fresh disturbances in Normandy—Waleran, count de Mellent, revolts—The princess Matilda takes the veil at Fontevraud.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1122, the tenth indiction, the spirit of malignity again raised the storms of war, and human blood was lamentably shed in brutal massacres. Erynnis, having established herself in the hearts of the perverse, revels in evil, and again stirs up mankind to arms for their own destruction and that of their brethren. The turbulent regret peace, and the rabble tranquillity, and in endeavouring to curb the arrogance of their superiors they often fall, according to the just judgment of God, by each other's swords. They must be blind and infatuated indeed who would exchange peace for war; who, when they enjoy the blessings of prosperity, covet misery as a thirsty man is eager for drink; who, not knowing how to value the good they possess, when it is lost search keenly for it, but overwhelmed with sorrow seek it in vain. Then, finding their loss irreparable, they are plunged in grief and inconsolable.

To proceed then, many persons, reflecting that King Henry's lawful heir was dead, and that the king, who was now growing old, had no legitimate offspring,[1] attached themselves strongly to his nephew William, and used all

[1] *Legitimâ prole caruerit.* It scarcely need be remarked that the king's only legitimate son, William, perished in the shipwreck of the Blanche-Nef. The words "legitimate offspring," used in the text, must

their efforts to raise him to power. The king had kindly brought up, as if they were his own children, Waleran and Robert, the two sons of Robert count of Mellent, from the time of their father's death; for the king had loved him much, because in the beginning of his reign he had greatly aided and encouraged him. The two young men, on arriving at the age of puberty, received knighthood at the king's hands, and Waleran was put in possession of all his father's domains on this side of the sea, namely the county of Mellent in France, and Beaumont with the territory belonging to it in Normandy.[1] His brother Robert had the earldom of Leicester in England; and the king gave him in marriage Amicia, the daughter of Ralph de Guader, who had been affianced to his own son Richard; with Breteuil and the lands held under it for her dowry.

This same king treated his daughter-in-law Matilda,[2] with the greatest affection, and entertained her in England with the highest honours as long as she wished to remain there. But in the course of a few years, becoming desirous to see her parents, she returned to Anjou, and, induced by the love of her native country, stayed there for some time. At last, by the advice of Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, she gave up the world, ten years after she was contracted in marriage, and became a nun in the abbey of St. Fontevrault, where she has now attached herself to a heavenly spouse, whom she serves in freedom.[3] She was, I think, twelve years old in the summer she married the young prince, and six months had not elapsed when her beardless husband perished in the shipwreck. The kind-hearted king brought her up as his own daughter, and detained her for a long time at his court with the intention of marrying her to some person of high rank, and heaping upon her wealth and honours which would have raised her above all her family. But she chose the better part, and united herself to a celestial spouse, the Son

be restricted to issue male, considered as heirs to the throne; the king's daughter Matilda, married to the emperor Henry V., born in lawful wedlock, being still living.

[1] Namely Brionne and Pontaudemer. The last was the original patrimony of the family.

[2] The widow of his son William.

[3] This princess took the veil at Fontevraud in 1128, became abbess of that monastery in 1150, and died in 1154.

of God and the Virgin. For she was prudent as well as fair, eloquent and accomplished, and possessed of many virtues. May the good choice she has made be approved among men and pleasing to God!

CH. XXXIV. *Revolt of some of the Norman lords—Hugh de Montfort arrested and escapes—His castle of Montfort beseiged and surrenders.*

ABOUT the same time Amauri, count of Evreux, nourished great bitterness in his mind at seeing the king's provosts and officers grievously harass the people on his domains. They exacted extraordinary imposts and perverted justice at their pleasure, laying heavy burdens on men both of high rank and low degree; and this they practised, not on their own authority, but by the terror they inspired of the king's power. Meanwhile, although he, ignorant of this, tarried in England, the fear of him restrained any hostile movement, but men lamented that tax gatherers should so oppress the people. Corrupt officers are worse than thieves, for the peasants can escape from robbers by taking to flight or getting out of their way, but crafty bailiffs connot be got rid of without serious losses.

The incensed Amauri therefore sought out Fulk, count of Anjou, his nephew, and used all his address to persuade him to give in marriage to William, duke Robert's son, his daughter Sibylla, who, for her worth, beauty, and illustrious birth, was worthy of an empire. Fulk readily agreed to his uncle's proposal, and inviting the young prince with his governor and domestics, betrothed his daughter to him,[1] and gave him for her dowry the county of Maine until he should recover his hereditary dominions. Thereupon Amauri engaged on his side all such as he could persuade to join his enterprise, and with the natural levity of Normans, he found many who were easily induced to support him.

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 432, 433, and the *notes*; where this alliance, and the efforts made to dissolve it, are mentioned. The want of direct heirs to Henry's vast dominions, since the shipwreck of the Blanche-Nef, had turned much attention to the young prince, who seemed designed by providence to succeed his uncle. It was not till late in the year 1123 that the king and the pope succeeded, by threats of excommunication, in breaking off the match, on the ground of consanguinity between the affianced parties.

Waleran, count of Mellent, William de Roumare, Hugh de Montfort, Hugh de Neufchâtel, William Louvel, Baudri de Brai, Paganus de Gisors,[1] and several others, were the first to mutter treason, and privately joined the league; but they soon afterwards, to their own loss, broke into open revolt. Count Waleran ardently desired an opportunity of exhibiting his youthful valour, but he certainly showed great weakness in embarking in this enterprize; rebelling against his lord and guardian, and being among the first to lift his hand in cruel arms against him. He had three sisters,[2] and to afford them the consolations of lawful matrimony, and at the same time strengthen himself on all sides among his neighbours, he gave them in marriage to three lords of castles, whose vassals, wealth, and strong places made them very powerful. One he gave to Hugh de Montfort, another to Hugh du Neufchâtel, the son of Gervase, and the other to William Louvel, the son of Ascelin, who, after the death of his brother Robert Goel, acquired the castle of Ivri with all his patrimony.

William de Roumare[3] claimed the land of his mother, which Ranulf of Bayeux, his father-in-law, had exchanged with the king for the earldom of Chester, together with another domain in England called Corby.[4] But the king would not grant his suit; on the contrary, he gave him a contemptuous reply. The incensed youth therefore forthwith crossed over to Normandy, and taking his opportunity revolted from the king; and finding many allies made a fierce inroad from Neufchâtel against the Normans. For two years he vented his wrath by plundering and firing the country, and taking many captives, nor did he relinquish his attacks until the king made him satisfaction, and restored to him the greater part of the domains which he had claimed.

[1] All these persons have been already mentioned, and it may suffice to remark that William Louvel was lord of Ivry, and Hugh, of Châteauneuf-en-Themirais.

[2] These three ladies were named Adeline, Amicia or Alice, and Aubrey.

[3] This young lord must not be mistaken for his uncle, the castellan of Neuf-Marché-en-Lions. The person here spoken of was son of Roger de Roumare, by Lucy; whose second marriage with Ranulf de Bricquessart has been already mentioned.

[4] Probably Corby, near Stamford, the heritage of Ives Taillebois, Lucy's first husband.

In the month of September, Amauri, Waleran, and the other lords I have before named, met at La-Croix-Saint-Leuffroy,[1] and there entered into a general conspiracy.

These clandestine treasons did not escape the king's observation; and he, therefore, assembled a large force at Rouen in the month of October, and marching out of the city on a Sunday, after dinner, without telling any one where he was going or what he intended to do, summoned Hugh de Montfort to his presence, and on his immediately presenting himself, commanded him to put into his hands the fortress of Montfort.[2] Hugh, who was one of the conspirators, now perceiving that his treason was detected, was suddenly thrown into a state of great anxiety, and not knowing what to do on such short notice, yielded to the king's commands, fearing that if he refused he should be immediately loaded with fetters. Thereupon, the king sent some of his faithful adherents with him to receive the keys of the fortress; but as soon as he found himself far enough from the king's presence, he put spurs to his fleet charger and gave his companions the slip at the entrance of the forest.[3] Then, following a short track with which he was well acquainted, he got to his castle before them, and without dismounting, gave orders that his brother and wife, with his retainers, should keep watch and ward for the defence of the place. "The king," said he, "is marching here at the head of a strong force; and you must hold the fortress stoutly against him." He then galloped forward to Brionne, and telling Count Waleran what had occurred, the count instantly armed his vassals and prepared for open war. The king, on the return of his trusty friends complaining that they had been outwitted by Hugh de Montfort, immediately put his troops under arms and attacked the garrison before they had time to place the castle in a state of defence. During the two first days, the whole town was reduced to ashes, and all the fortifications, except the castle, were taken. Robert, the king's son,[4]

[1] Where Waleran had a castle.

[2] The castle of Montfort-sur-Risle.

[3] The forest of Montfort-sur-Risle.

[4] Robert, the illegitimate son of Henry I., who was afterwards earl of Gloucester, and strenuously supported the cause of his sister, the Empress Matilda, against King Stephen. The Normans called him Robert de Caen.

and Nigel d'Aubigni, brought up a strong reinforcement from Coutances and other districts, and Ralph de Gand[1] and the rest of the besieged were annoyed by frequent assaults on the place. At last, despairing of any relief from the conspirators, after a month's siege, they took the wisest resolution, and having proposed terms of peace were received into alliance with the king, to whom the tower was surrendered. Thence King Henry marched to Pontaudemer, the siege of which he pressed closely for six weeks.

The king offered to Adeline and her son Waleran the open part of the domains,[2] she being the daughter of Robert count of Mellent, on condition that [her husband] Hugh de Montfort should return to his allegiance, and thenceforth conduct himself as his loyal subject and faithful friend. But Hugh foolishly disdained the offer, and preferred being entirely disinherited to a reconciliation with the king, and attaching himself, so much for his own advantage, to the friend by whom he had been brought up and raised to honour.

CH. XXXV. *Serlo, the aged bishop of Séez, prepares his own tomb—Circumstances of his last hours and death, shortly afterwards.*

IN the same month the venerable Serlo, who had governed the bishopric of Séez for thirty-two years,[3] after celebrating mass in the church of St. Gervase the Martyr,[4] on the seventh of the calends of November [26th Oct.], when it was finished, called about him the clergy and ministers of the church, and thus addressed them: "I am worn out with age and in-

[1] Ralph de Gand was a son or a grandson of Gilbert de Gand. We find his name as witness to a charter granted in the sixteenth year of Henry I. to the abbey of Bardney in Lincolnshire, which was restored by the chief of that family. Gilbert de Gand married a daughter of Hugh II. de Montfort, and according to the continuator of William de Jumièges, Hugh IV. was their son. This Ralph de Gand must have been, therefore, either his brother or his nephew.

[2] The farms, or agricultural part of the fief of Montfort, reserving the castle and probably the town and forest. It does not appear that the young Waleran lived to grow up.

[3] See vol. ii. p. 520. Serlo was formerly abbot of St. Evroult, and made bishop of Séez in 1091.

[4] The cathedral of Séez, of which we have spoken in vol. ii. p. 294; but were perhaps mistaken in calling the place the smallest cathedral city in France.

firmity, and perceive that my end is approaching. I commend you to my Lord God, who made me his vicar over you, and I beseech you to implore worthily his mercy on me. Let a grave be immediately prepared for me, for the time of my dwelling among you will now be shortly ended." He then went, accompanied by the clergy, to the altar of St. Mary, the holy mother of God, and marked out before it with his pastoral staff a small space, which he consecrated for his tomb, sprinkling holy water upon it. Workmen were immediately employed in digging a grave with their mattocks and throwing out the earth with shovels; and masons and stone-cutters chipped out the hollow of a coffin with their pointed hammers, and fitted and completed everything for the interment of the bishop, as if he were lying dead on a bier, instead of being walking and speaking.

The next day being Friday,[1] he went into the church, and attempted to celebrate mass, according to his usual custom, and with more mental vigour than bodily strength, drew his hood[2] over his head, but his limbs trembled, and he shrank from commencing so solemn an office, and ordered his chaplain William to perform it. The mass being ended, he called to him all the canons, and said to them: "Come to me after dinner, for I wish to bequeath in a legal manner the wealth which I have acquired for temporal purposes from the revenues of the church to her use. It is my earnest desire, by God's grace, to prevent the enemy's finding in me anything wherewith justly to accuse me in the sight of God. As I came naked into this world, it is fitting that I should depart out of it naked, in order that I may follow unencumbered the footsteps of the Lamb, for love of whom I long ago renounced all worldly things."

The bishop took his seat at table at the ninth hour,[3] but all his thoughts being now raised to heaven, he partook of

[1] Friday, October 27, 1122.

[2] *Amictus, Fr. Amict*, is the first of the six vestments used in celebrating mass. It was formerly drawn over the head, and was therefore alluded to as *galea salutis*, the helmet of salvation, in the prayer used by the priest while he was robing. Most of the religious orders retain this practice, instead of wearing it on the shoulders, like the secular clergy. It must be remembered that Serlo, as well as all his chapter, belonged to the order of St. Benedict.

[3] At 3 P.M.

nothing that was set before him; and as the rest of the company ate little, being full of sorrow, he fed them abundantly with the food of holy doctrine, and shed among them in rich abundance the seed of the word of God, which he had always scattered with a liberal hand. Normandy, I think, never had a son whose style was more elegant, or gifted with greater elegance, than Serlo. In person he was of moderate height, and had all the outward graces of the human form, which can be expected in one who dwells in a world so full of miseries. When young he had red hair; as he grew up it soon turned grey, and for the last fifty years was as white as snow. He was a profound scholar both in secular and divine learning, and always prepared to meet any questions which were addressed to him. Severe on those who persisted in their evil courses, his clemency to penitent sinners was unbounded, and he was mild as an affectionate father to a son suffering from disease. Many are the good traits I could relate of him, but my words cannot recall him to life, and weary as I am of my labour, I hasten on to bring to a close the sequel of the book which I have commenced.

When they were about to rise from table, after the refection, a messenger entered and announced the arrival of two cardinals of the church of Rome, Peter and Gregory.[1] It was then the eve of the feast of the apostles SS. Simon and Jude.[2] The bishop immediately said to his clergy, and the steward and servants of his household: "Go quickly, and pay due attention to these Romans, serving them abundantly with all things necessary, because they are legates of our lord the pope, who, under God, is the father of all the faithful; and as to them, whatever they are, they are our masters." Thus the thoughtful old bishop sent all his attendants to meet his visitors, while he himself, according to his wont, remained seated in his chair, being in no pain,

[1] Peter de Léon, afterwards antipope, by the name of Anaclete. See what we have said of him in p. 12 of this volume. Gregory was afterwards pope by the name of Innocent II. It does not appear in the sequel that these princes of the church exhibited any sympathy for their aged host, whose last earthly thoughts seem to have been directed to their reception with due honour and hospitality.

[2] The feast of St. Simon and St. Jude is on October 28.

and exhibiting no outward signs of any malady. All the rest went to meet the cardinals as they were directed, and offering hospitality, paid them the honours becoming their station, according to the bishop's orders. Meanwhile, during the time they were engaged in paying their respects to the legates, the bishop died, while sitting in his chair,[1] just as if he had fallen asleep. His servants returning to their master after fulfilling his commands, and finding him thus dead as he was sitting, wept over him in deep affliction. On the morrow his body was deposited in the tomb which, as I have already said, was prepared for him on the third day previously, John, bishop of Lisieux, performing the ceremonies; for which purpose he was sent by the king from the siege of Pontaudemer.

On the death of Serlo, John, the younger, who was son of Harduin, and nephew of John, bishop of Lisieux, was advanced to the bishopric; a person who was not only younger in age, but must be considered far inferior in learning, to his predecessor. He was consecrated after Easter, in the year of our Lord 1124,[2] and by order of his uncle began to exercise his episcopal functions in the diocese of Lisieux. On the fourth of the nones [4th] of May, he dedicated the church of St. Alban, at Cisai,[3] and came the same day to St. Evroult, where on the fourth of the nones of May he blessed the new crucifix, and consecrated the chapel and altar of St. Mary Magdalen, which Arnold, an old and noble monk,[4] had erected out of his own funds and the offerings of the faithful.

The king's officers, having heard of the sudden death of the late bishop, flew to the spot from the fortress they guarded, like ravens pouncing on a carcass; and transferred to the king's exchequer all the money and other valuables

[1] *In cathedra sedens.* Not, we think, that the bishop had gone alone into the cathedral and seated himself for meditation and prayer on his episcopal chair, which according to primitive practice stood in the centre of the apsis behind the altar; but more probably he had left the refectory and seated himself alone in his private apartments, waiting the return of his attendants from offering their respects and services to the newly-arrived cardinals.

[2] Easter day fell that year on April 6.

[3] Cisai-saint-Aubin.

[4] Often mentioned before.

they found in the bishop's residence, without any regard to the claims of the church or the poor.[1]

CH. XXXVI. *The siege and surrender of Pontaudemer.*

MEANWHILE, the king was besieging an enemy's castle;[2] but had suspicions of many of those who, admitted to familiar intercourse with him, loaded him with flatteries; and discovering their perfidy, he considered them as disloyal men. Lewis of Senlis,[3] Harcher, *grand cuisinier* of France and a distinguished knight, with Simon Tresnel, of Poissi,[4] Luc de la Barre,[5] and other intrepid soldiers were in the place and defended it against the enemy by many contrivances. However, the king reduced to ashes the town, which was of great size and very rich, and sharply assaulted the castle. He himself carefully looked to everything, running about like a young soldier; and animated all with great spirit to perform their duties. He taught the carpenters how to construct a berfrey,[6] jocularly chid the workmen who made mistakes, and encouraged by his praise those who did well to greater exertions. At last he completed his machines, and by frequent assaults on the besiegers, which occasioned them serious losses, compelled them to surrender

[1] A constant practice in the reign of Henry I., as it was in that of his brother William; of which many instances may be found in the histories of the times.

[2] Pontaudemer.

[3] Louis de Senlis, second son of Guy de Senlis, lord of Chantilli and Ermenonville. He was grand-butler of France in 1128, and was still living in 1132.

[4] M. Le Prevost is not able to give any account of this person, and is not even sure that the first syllable of the name is given exactly as it is abbreviated in the MS. of St. Evroult. Should it be Fresnel?

[5] Luc de la Barre, in Ouche. This person seems to have had a very early connection with Count Waleran, for we find him appear in his charters *adhuc puer*. He figures among the Normans who defended Breteuil against Lewis-le-Gros in 1119. See before, vol. iii. p. 489.

[6] *Berfredum;* a warlike machine constructed of timber, which, mounted on four wheels, and being of equal or superior height to the walls and flanking towers of the besieged place, enabled the assailants to shower arrows and stones on the defenders, and make a lodgment from it on the battlements. The reader is referred to Simeon of Durham for some curious details of this siege of Pontaudemer, which lasted seven weeks. See under the year 1123. The berfrey in this instance was raised twenty-four feet above the walls of the place.

the place. Lewis, however, and Ralph, the son of Durand,[1] and their comrades came to terms with the conqueror, and on giving up the fortress, were allowed to march out in safety with all their baggage.[2] Some of them went with the French to Beaumont, where Count Waleran was.

Simon de Péronne,[3] Simon de Neufle, Guy, surnamed Malvoisin,[4] and his nephew Peter de Maule,[5] William Aiguillon,[6] and nearly two hundred other French men-at-arms, served under the count's banner in this fortress, and at his command made inroads through the neighbouring districts, inflicting great losses on the king's adherents by plundering and setting fire to their property.

Ch. XXXVII. *Robert de Chandos narrowly escapes being treacherously taken at Gisors—The town and church are burnt.*

The same day on which the castle of Pontaudemer surrendered, news was brought to the king of a lamentable outrage committed in another quarter. For while he was engaged in military operations on the banks of the Risle, a traitorous plot which I will describe was acted on the Epte. On Monday, when the market was held,[7] a parley was

[1] Durand was Count Waleran's confidential agent at Pontaudemer, and probably had the command of the castle. His name often appears as a witness to charters in favour of the abbey of St. Pierre de Préaux, where in the end he became a monk.

[2] Simeon of Durham informs us that the Breton soldiers in the king's army, when the town was burnt, dug among the ruins, and discovered in the cellars gold, silver, rich clothes, palls, pepper, ginger, and other stores of that kind, which the citizens had concealed in these vaults when threatened with the siege; all which were carried off. As soon as the inhabitants had submitted to the king, they began to restore the place from its ruins; but Count Waleran came upon them suddenly and reduced all their new buildings to ashes.

[3] Simon de Péronne was either castellan of that place under the count de Vermandois, Waleran's uncle, or at least a relation or vassal of the count. One of the count's brothers was named Simon, but he had been bishop of Noyon since the year 1121.

[4] *Guido cognomento Malus-Vicinus;* Guy Mauvoisin, lord of Rosni and Boissi-Mauvoisin.

[5] Peter II. of Maule. See vol. ii. pp. 282, &c.

[6] William Aiguillon, lord of Trie, son-in-law of Theobald Paganus of Gisors. He died in the Holy Land in 1147. There were several branches of this family in Normandy, and also in England.

[7] The market at Gisors is still held on Monday.

appointed in the house of Paganus of Gisors, to which Robert de Chandos,[1] warden of the king's tower, was invited, in order that he might be suddenly murdered by armed assassins, placed in concealment, and the fortress then seized by surprise; bodies of troops being placed in ambush all round it for that purpose. Accordingly on the day mentioned, soldiers who mixed amongst the crowd of peasants and women flocking to the market from the neighbouring villages entered the town promiscuously with them, and many of the soldiers, finding old acquaintances among the burghers, were hospitably offered accommodation in their houses, so that the place was nearly filled with them, for they came in great numbers. At length when the hour fixed for the treachery arrived, messenger after messenger was sent to desire Robert de Chandos to make haste; but his wife Isabel, a pious woman, detained him a long time, having domestic affairs to settle with him. This delay was doubtless ordered by God's providence. Robert being thus delayed at home, Baudri came last to the parley, and finding the rest laying wait already armed, he threw off his mantle and putting on a breastplate, cried aloud: "Now soldiers, do your duty, and act firmly." Immediately upon this, the people of the town discovered the intended treachery, and tumultuous shouts being raised, the nearest gate was forcibly taken possession of by the men of Paganus. Robert de Chandos having mounted his horse unconscious of what was intended, upon riding into the market place

[1] This person was by his wife Isabel, brother-in-law of Walter Giffard, the third of that name, earl of Buckingham. The original seat of the family of Chandos was a fief lying at the junction of the communes of Catelon, Illeville, and Flancourt, the etymology of the name being *Campi Dorsum*. Dugdale states in his baronage that this was the same Robert de Chandos who came in with the Conqueror, and had a grant of lands at Caerleon and Goldclyve (Goldcliff) in the marches of Wales. This line became extinct in England in the time of Edward III. Of the same family, but not in the same branch, was the famous Sir John Chandos, who distinguished himself at the battle of Poitiers in the same reign, and afterwards with Prince Edward in Spain at the battle of Bazan, and was slain in Gascony in the 44th Edw. III., leaving no male issue. Another Sir John Chandos flourished in the reign of Henry IV., and left only two sisters, Alice Brydges and Margaret Mattesdon. The ancient barony of Chandos is in abeyance. The dukedom was revived in the person of the late duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

found the armed ruffians plundering the town, and hearing fearful cries in all quarters, took the alarm, and hastened back to take refuge in the fortress, from which he had not yet proceeded far. Thereupon, Count Amouri and his nephew William Crespin,[1] with their troops, ascended the hill which stands over against the castle, and tried to frighten the garrison, much more by their threats than their deeds. Certainly all those who took a leading part in this affair are to be judged traitors, and guilty of perjury in breaking their oaths of fealty to the king. Robert, however, considering that he could not, with the force he had, drive them out of the town, which was strongly fortified, set fire to the nearest houses, and the devouring flames being spread by the wind, the whole bourg was burnt to the ground. This drove the enemy out of the city walls, and saved the castle from being assaulted. In this dire confusion, the free and worthy burgesses of Gisors sustained great losses, and, their houses and substance having been a prey to the flames, were reduced to great indigence. The church of St. Gervase,[2] which had been consecrated a few years before by archbishop Geoffrey, was also burnt.

The king having heard reports of the affair, moved his army with the utmost expedition from Pontaudemer to Gisors, resolved to give battle to the traitors if he could find them. They, however, fled with great terror, fatigue, and shame, as soon as they heard that the victorious king was hastening to attack them, instead of being still engaged, as they thought, in the siege of Pontaudemer. Thereupon the king's justices sequestered the county of Evreux and all the domains of the traitors, and declared them to be forfeited to the king. Hugh, the son of Paganus,[3] was then with Stephen count of Mortain, and in the king's service, not being privy to his father's malpractices. The king, therefore, granted him the patrimonial domains, and entirely

[1] William Crespin, second of that name, married the heiress of Etrépagni. He was Amauri's nephew by his mother Eva de Montfort, the count's sister.

[2] The parish church of Gisors.

[3] Hugh de Gisors, second son of Theobald Paganus, who, with his eldest son Hervey, probably retired to one of their numerous fiefs in the French Vexin.

disinherited the old traitor and his son Hervey. Thus the treaty of peace which the pope had lately concluded between the kings was broken, and fresh hostilities of the fiercest character commenced on both sides.

CH. XXXVIII. *A cessation of arms during the winter—King Henry garrisons the fortresses.*

THE winter was rainy, and the king taking into consideration the toils and sufferings of the people, spared them, lest from over fatiguing them like beasts of burden, they should utterly fail and perish. Wherefore, having gained possession of two very strongly fortified places, Pont-audemer and Montfort, with the territories belonging to them, when Advent came, he allowed the people a season of rest; but he quartered his own troops under the command of his best officers in the different castles, entrusting them with the defence of the country against freebooters. Ranulf of Bayeux was stationed in the tower of Evreux; Henry, son of Joscelin de Pomeré,[1] at Pont-Antou,[2] Odo, surnamed Borleng, in the fortress of Bernai, and other brave soldiers in various strong places, to defend the country against the enemy's inroads. Also William, son of Robert de Harcourt,[3] adhered to the king and gave his services.

CH. XXXIX. *Siege of Vatteville on the Seine—Battle of Rougemontier—The king's cruelty to his prisoners, and particularly to Luke de la Barre, the minstrel—Beaumont surrendered.*

IN the Lent following, Count Waleran assembled his allies,

[1] There are several communes of the name of *Pomeray* in Normandy. That in the canton of Thuri-Harcourt, and diocese of Bayeux, was the cradle of this family. There are several grants made by this Henry de Pomeray in the time of Henry I. noticed in the *Monastic. Anglican.* He must have been a nephew of Ralph de Pomerei, who had large possessions in Somersetshire and Devonshire at the time the Domesday Book was compiled, and was a baron by tenure.

[2] Pont-Antou, at the confluence of the Risle with the river of Antou.

[3] William de Harcourt was the son of Robert I. and married Hue d'Amboise. This family, which afterwards became so illustrious, derived its name from the bourg of Harcourt near Brionne. It was a younger branch of that of the lords of Pontaudemer and Beaumont-le-Roger, counts de Meulan.

and on the night of the Annunciation[1] went to Vatteville,[2] where they fortified the tower. He had with him his three brothers-in-law, Hugh de Neufchâtel, son of Gervase, Hugh de Montfort, and William Louvel, the son of Ascelin Goel; but Count Amauri took the lead of them all. Under these leaders the expedition introduced a convoy of provisions into the besieged place, and assaulted, very early in the morning, when they were not expected, the entrenchments which the king had thrown up to straiten the fortress. In this attack, while Walter, the son of William de Valiquerville, who had by the king's appointment the chief command of the troops on guard, was standing on the rampart of the fortification in his coat of mail, bravely defending the trenches, he was ingeniously caught by some one with an iron hook, and not being able to extricate himself, was dragged down and carried away prisoner. Count Waleran had given the custody of the tower to two brothers, in whom he placed great confidence, Herbert of Lisieux and Roger, with eight men-at-arms. He then pillaged all the farms round the neighbourhood, and carrying off all the corn and food from the houses and churches, conveyed it into the tower for provisioning the garrison. On the same day the count, savage and foaming like a wild boar, went to the forest of Brotonne, and finding peasants there cutting wood, seized several of them and lamed them by chopping off their feet.[3] Such was the way in which he desecrated the blessed feast of the Annunciation; but he did not escape with impunity.

Meanwhile, Ralph de Bayeux, the castellan of Evreux, having received intelligence from his spies that large bodies of the enemy had entered Vatteville in the night, went with all haste to his friends Henry, Odo, and William,[4] and informing them of the passage of the enemy, earnestly entreated him to oppose their return by defending the king's highway, well

[1] The night between March 24 and 25.

[2] Vatteville, on the left bank of the Seine, near Caudebec.

[3] It is the more extraordinary that Count Waleran should have committed these barbarities, as the forest belonged to him. Nothing is said of the woodmen being even trespassers, and the probability is that they were his own vassals.

[4] Henry de Pomerei, Odo Berleng, and William de Harcourt.

armed. Readily acceding to his proposal with their principal liegemen, they collected three hundred men-at-arms handsomely equipped, near Bourgtéroude,[1] and debouching from the forest of Brotonne, waited for the enemy on the open plains on the seventh of the calends of April [March 26th], as they were returning to Montfort. The royal troops coming in sight of them, and observing their superiority in force and numbers, began to waver in the presence of such formidable bands; upon which some of the leaders endeavoured to encourage their troops. Odo Borleng said: "The king's enemies ravage his lands in security, and have captured and are carrying off one of his lords, to whom he had entrusted the defence of the country. What are we to do? Are we to suffer them to lay waste the whole neighbourhood with impunity? It will be best for part of us to dismount and engage on foot, while the other part remain in the saddle, and fight on horseback. The bowmen should form the first line to annoy the enemy, and check their advance by flights of arrows which may wound their horses. On the plain which is the field of battle this day, each man's valour and prowess will be distinctly seen; and if we, through our cowardice, suffer the king's baron to be carried off in fetters before our eyes, without striking a blow, how shall we ever venture to appear in the royal presence? We shall justly forfeit both pay and honour, and in my opinion ought no longer to eat the king's bread."

All Odo's comrades, encouraged by this exhortation, consented to dismount, provided he did the same; agreeing to which he took his station on foot at the head of the troops by whom he was much beloved, and stood in arms cheerfully waiting for the conflict to begin. The young Waleran, eager to win the honour of knighthood; exulted with boyish delight as soon as the enemy appeared, but Amauri, more mature in age and wisdom, dissuaded his less prudent comrades from engaging rashly. "By all the world," such was Amauri's oath, "I am for declining a battle; for if with our small force we venture to engage our numerous enemy, I much fear we shall suffer loss and dis-

[1] *Burgum Thuroldi.* This battle was fought on the territory of Rougemontier, as we shall find in the sequel.

grace. See, Odo Borleng has dismounted; be sure that he will obstinately contend for victory. This brave knight, now that he and his comrades have become foot soldiers, will not retreat, but must either conquer or die."[1] The others replied: "Have we not long wished to meet the English on level ground? Here they are; let us fight, for a shameful flight will bring dishonour on us and our posterity. We have here the flower of the chivalry of France and Normandy; who can resist it? Far be it from us to be so frightened by a band of peasants and common soldiers, that we should turn out of our road to avoid them, or have any hesitation in giving them battle."

They, therefore, ranged themselves in order of battle. At first Count Waleran wished to charge the enemy with forty men-at-arms, but his horse was shot by the archers and fell under him. No less than forty horses were thus killed in the onset, and brought to the ground before their riders could strike a stroke. In consequence, the party of the count was quickly overpowered and routed, each man abandoning his arms and every incumbrance, and seeking his safety in flight in the best manner he could. Count Waleran and the two Hughs, his brothers-in-law, and nearly eighty other men-at-arms, were taken prisoners on the spot, and being closely confined in the king's dungeons, paid the penalty of their rash enterprise in deep distress.

William de Grandcourt, the son of William count d'Eu,[2] a gallant soldier in the royal army, was present in this battle and took Amauri prisoner as he was making his escape; but, touched for a man of such bravery, and knowing to a certainty that if he made him his captive, he would never, or with great difficulty, get out of the king's hands, he resolved to abandon his sovereign and his own possessions and go into exile, rather than entangle a count of such distinguished worth in the meshes of a net from which he could never extricate himself. He therefore conducted him as far as

[1] Our author attributes all the honours of the day to Ralph de Briquessart, to his lieutenants, and William de Harcourt. Most of the other historians place William de Tankerville in the first line, but the very circumstantial narrative of Ordericus completely refutes this statement.

[2] William de Grandcourt, near Eu, was the second son of the count by a sister of Hugh, earl of Chester.

Belmont, and then becoming an exile with him, as his preserver, found an honourable refuge in France.

William Louvel being taken prisoner by a peasant, from whom he ransomed himself by giving him his armour, had his hair cropped by him so that he might pass for a groom, and taking a staff in his hand he got away to the river Seine.[1] Arriving in this disguise at the ferry, he gave his boots to the boatman for carrying him over, and reached home on his bare feet, only too happy to have escaped any how from the enemy's hands.

After Easter,[2] the king pronounced judgment at Rouen on the captive culprits, causing the eyes of Geoffrey de Tourville[3] and Odard du Pin[4] to be put out for the treason of which they had been guilty. He also deprived of sight[5] Luke de la Barre, for having ridiculed him in his songs, and engaged in rash enterprises against him. At that time, Charles, marquis of Flanders,[6] who had succeeded the young Baldwin in the duchy, was at the king's court with many nobles, and commiserating the case of the condemned prisoners, said to the king with more boldness than the other courtiers, "My lord king, you are doing what is quite abhorrent to our usages when you mutilate captives taken in the service of their lords." To which the king replied: "Sir count, I do what is right, and I will prove it by good reasons. Geoffrey and Odard became my liege-men with the consent of their lords, and breaking their oaths of fealty

[1] One does not understand why William Louvel crossed the Seine. To do so would lengthen the distance he had to accomplish, and render it necessary that he should re-cross the river.

[2] Easter fell that year on April 6.

[3] There are ten places of this name in Normandy; Geoffrey probably belonged to that which lies between Pontaudemer and Préaux, and is the person mentioned in the *Monastic. Anglic.* as *Galfridus de Turvilla*, i. p. 519; ii. p. 309. In England he was a vassal of the Earl of Leicester.

[4] A native of Pin-au-Haras, near Argentan.

[5] This was a favourite punishment of Henry I. He did not even hesitate to inflict it on his cousin-german, the unfortunate Count de Mortain. The mutilation was not discovered until after the king's death, when it excited universal horror. It is supposed, as we have already remarked, that a similar act of cruelty was perpetrated by his command on his brother Duke Robert.

[6] Charles, surnamed The Good, count of Flanders, who was assassinated March 2, 1127.

proved false to me, and therefore incurred the penalty of death or mutilation. To preserve the fealty which they swore to me, they ought to have given up all they had in the world rather than attach themselves to any one contrary to right, and break their ties to their liege-lord. Luke, indeed, never did me homage, but he was in arms against me at Pontaudemer; after which, when peace was concluded, I excused all their forfeitures, and suffered them to go free, with their horses, arms, and baggage. But Luke[1] immediately rejoined my enemies, and, in conjunction with them, stirred up fresh hostilities against me, adding to his former offences such as were still worse. Besides, the merry glee-man made scurrilous sonnets on me,[2] and sang them aloud to bring me into contempt, thus often making me the laughing-stock of my malicious enemies. Now God has delivered him into my hands for chastisement, in order that he may be forced to renounce his evil ways, and that others who hear of the punishment of his audacious conduct may be profitably corrected."

On hearing this, the count of Flanders held his peace, because he had no reasonable objections to make. The butchers[3] did their office. The unhappy Luke, when he found himself sentenced to lose his eyes, preferred death to a life of perpetual darkness, and made all the resistance he could to the executioners when they attempted to mutilate him. At last, after struggling with them, he dashed his head against the stone walls, and, like one demented, fracturing his skull, thus miserably expired, lamented by many who admired his worth and playful wit.

Meanwhile, Morin du Pin,[4] steward of the count of

[1] Luke de la Barre, in Ouche. See vol. iii. p. 489. Ouche, it may be recollected, is the name of the commune in which St. Evroult, called also the abbey of Ouche, stood; so that Luke was probably well known to the monks.

[2] It is much to be regretted that these satirical songs of the early part of the twelfth century are lost. They would have been invaluable specimens of the Norman poetry of that age. Humanity shudders at the cruel fate of the gallant soldier and witty *trouveur*.

[3] *Carnifices*. The translation is but too exact, and the word might be well applied to Henry himself.

[4] He is probably the same person who was witness to the charter granting Guernanville to the abbey of St. Evroult (b. v. c. 12), and, like Odard and Gilbert du Pin, was a native of Pin-au-Haras.

Mellent, put his castles in a state of defence, and, full of spirit, animated all, over whom he had any influence, to make a stout resistance against the king. This brave prince, however, having assembled a powerful army, laid siege to Brionne in the month of April, and immediately constructed two forts, which compelled the enemy to surrender in a very short time.[1] But, through the violence of misguided men, peace was not obtained without great injury to innocent people; for the whole village with the churches was first burnt down. Meanwhile those who had shut themselves up in the tower at Vatteville, made terms with the king, and gave up the strong hold, which he soon afterwards, with politic rigour, ordered to be razed to the ground.

The king having now reduced all the count's fortresses except Beaumont, sent tidings to the count in prison of his successful operations, and by the same messengers enjoined him to give orders that Beaumont should be surrendered without striking a blow. The count, perceiving that all the schemes he had formed with youthful folly were now desperate, and that he had deservedly fallen from his high estate through his own perverseness, fearing also to expose himself to still greater peril, if by his obstinacy he still further offended his powerful judge, sent trusty messengers with positive orders to Morin, who had the charge of his affairs, to give up the castle of Beaumont, without delay, to the victorious king. Then Morin, though reluctantly, fulfilled his lord's orders, but he was unable, by any means he used, to obtain the king's favour for himself; for having been appointed by the king the count's governor and tutor, he had been the means, through pernicious counsels, of his engaging in the revolt. Morin now lost the wealth which had inflated his pride and lifted him up above his proper position in Normandy, where his ambition carried him to lengths which brought trouble and ruin on many innocent persons. He was banished by the king's sentence from his native soil, and continued in exile in foreign lands till the day of his death.

Thus the king obtained possession of all the domains which this rich count held in Normandy, and he kept him and

[1] Our author omits to mention that Henry caused the eyes of the commandant of the castle of Brionne to be put out.

his two brothers-in-law in close custody. Some time afterwards all the three were transferred to England, where the count and Hugh, the son of Gervase, were kept prisoners during five years. As for Hugh de Montfort, he has now groaned in fetters for thirteen years,[1] nor has any one of his friends ventured to intercede with the king on his behalf, seeing how grievous was his offence without any reason for it.

CH. XL. *Submission of some lords of castles in the neighbourhood of Lisieux and St. Evroult—The rebels sue for peace.*

BLESSED be God, who disposes all things well, directing the career of mortals more for their welfare than they desire themselves, and has manifested his righteous judgments to those who contemplate them with a religious mind in the territory of Rougemontier. In the year of our Lord 1124, the Lord gave victory to the lovers of peace, confounded the bold enterprises of the disturbers of the quiet of the whole country, and dispersed the confederates in their wicked attempts by a sudden downfall. In the same week the lords of seven castles in the districts of Lisieux and St. Evroult, and consequently on the borders of the rebel chiefs, resolved to join them, to the detriment of many. Hugh de Plessis[2] had already got possession of Pont-Échaufré by stratagem, and firmly expected succour from the confederated rebels. Wherefore the castellans of Sap, Bienfaite, Orbec, and several other places, out of fear, made an alliance with them, not having the force or courage to defend themselves against their great power. But when the heads of the revolt were crushed, as I have already related, their fellow conspirators kept quiet, their only fear being lest they should be indicted before the justices and lawyers for joining in the plot. It was the bissextile year, and, as we have heard it commonly said, the *bissext* fell indeed on the traitors.[3]

[1] This passage appears to have been written in 1135, before the death of Henry I.

[2] Probably le Plessis, between Ancéins and Pont-Échaufré, now Notre-Dame-du-Hamel.

[3] By a superstition which can be traced to the times of the Romans, and which prevailed through the middle ages almost to our own day, it

By degrees, finding their forces dwindle away, Amauri, Louvell, and the other rebels, sued for peace with the king, and, though with regret, deserted the cause of the exiled William, since they could not render him any aid. At length, having made humble submission to the king, they were restored to his favour, their past offences being pardoned, and were reinstated in their former possessions.

CH. XLI. *William, the heir of Normandy, is compelled to quit Anjou, and again becomes a wanderer—His character.*

IN consequence of this turn of affairs, the treaty of Prince William with the Angevins was broken, and he became a wanderer from cottage to cottage in foreign lands, accompanied by his governor Elias and Tirel de Manières,[1] in great fear and want. He had to dread the grasp of his uncle's long and powerful arms, whose might and wealth, or the fame of them, were spread everywhere, from the west to the east. This young prince was born to misfortune, from which he was never altogether free as long as he lived. He was brave, handsome, and high-spirited; desperately[2] fond of warlike adventures, and recommended himself more to the various nations who supported his pretensions, by hopes which were illusory than by his merit. In the convents of monks and canons, amongst whom he was accustomed to seek hospitality, he was so sumptuous in his way of living, though an exile, that his visits brought more charge than honour on his hosts, and he was the cause of more misery than profit to the multitude who adhered to him. A great number of persons were mistaken in him, as Heaven afterwards made very clear, and I shall faithfully relate towards the close of the present book.

was supposed that the bissextile years were more distinguished than others for calamitous occurrences, and it was a common saying that the bissext fell on such a person or on such a thing. See Ducange under the word *Bissextus*.

[1] Tirel de Manières, near Neufchâtel.

[2] *Damnabiliter*.

CH. XLII. *Deaths of Ralph le Vert, archbishop of Rheims, Pope Calixtus II., and Gilbert, archbishop of Tours—Their successors.*

ABOUT this time there were many changes among persons of the highest rank, who were replaced by the men of the present day. Ralph, surnamed le Vert,[1] archbishop of Rheims, who was distinguished among the fathers of the church in our times by his learning and eloquence, and laudably devoted to such good pursuits, the father and patron of his monks and clergy, and the guardian and protector of the poor, and all who were subject to him; after a life, memorable for many excellent deeds, died in a good old age, and was succeeded by Reynold, bishop of Angers, a prelate, in many respects, unequal to his predecessor. Ulger,[2] took the government of the church of Angers; his life was illustrious for religion and science, and he furnished his people with the light of truth.

In the year of our Lord 1125, the third indiction, Pope Calixtus died,[3] and Lambert, bishop of Ostia, became pope, under the name of Honorius. He was an old and very learned man, zealous in his observance of the divine law, and governed the church of Rome for six years. In the very same week in which Pope Calixtus was taken from the world, Gilbert, archbishop of Tours, who had gone to Rome on ecclesiastical affairs, also died there.[4] The people of Tours, on hearing of his death, invited amongst them Hildebert, the worthy bishop of Mans,[5] and, by permission of Pope Honorius, he was translated to the metropolitan see

[1] For this prelate, see vol. iii. p. 5. He died July 23, 1124.

[2] Ulger was made bishop of Angers September 20, 1123. This most quarrelsome prelate died October 17, 1148.

[3] Calixtus II., as we have before remarked, died December 13 or 14, 1124, and Honorius was elected his successor on the 15th or 16th, and consecrated the 21st, of the same month.

[4] The exact day of Archbishop Gilbert's death is not exactly known, but it is certain that it was in the same month, and it is not impossible in the same week, as that of Pope Calixtus. Hildebert did not take possession of the archiepiscopal see of Tours until the authority of the pope had succeeded in removing his scruples, and that was not till the month of February following (1125—1132).

[5] Guy d'Étampes was Hildebert's successor in the see of Mans (1126—1136.)

of Tours. He lived there for nearly seven years with great honour, and much to the profit of his flock. He consecrated Guiomar, the Breton, to the bishopric of Mans.

CH. XLIII. *Death of the Emperor Henry V.—Proceedings of the diet in which Lothaire was elected his successor.*

IN the same year, during Whitsun week, died the Emperor Charles Henry V.,[1] and he was buried at Spires, the metropolis of Germany. The emperor, on his death-bed, bequeathed the emblems of imperial power to the Empress Matilda, but afterwards, as he left no surviving children, Lothaire, duke of Saxony, was raised to the throne by decree of a general assembly of the states, and the crown[2] and imperial ornaments devolved on him. The archbishop of Mayence,[3] who filled the highest rank through his power and talents, caused every precaution to be taken against either a schism, or usurpation of the empire. He therefore convoked a meeting of all the bishops and great men of Germany, with their troops, and when they were assembled treated with them on electing an emperor. He had obtained the imperial ornaments from the empress before he ventured to speak on so important a business: "Most excellent barons," he said, "who are now met together on this plain, listen to me, I pray you, with attention, and prudently adopt the counsel I am about to give you. I labour for the welfare of you all, and of many others who

[1] The emperor, Henry V., died at Utrecht, May 23, 1125, at the age of forty-four years. "The English, a very credulous people," observes M. Le Prevost, "were silly enough to believe that the prince was not dead, but having retired to the neighbourhood of Chester, led the life of a hermit under the name of Godescal to expiate by penance the wrongs he had done to his father." This story is told by Roger de Hoveden. See vol. i. p. 218, of his Annals in the *Antiq. Lib.*

[2] Hoveden also tells us that the empress carried away with her the imperial crown and the hand of St. James the apostle, which she delivered to her father on her return to England; and Henry was so overjoyed at obtaining the sacred relic that he built the abbey of Reading for its reception, but the crown he deposited in his own treasury. William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester relate the foundation of Reading abbey by Henry I., but say nothing of this relic. It was dedicated to the blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist, not to St. James.

[3] Albert I., son of Sigebert, count of Saarbruch, was then archbishop of Mayence (1109—July 14, 1137). He was one of the most determined enemies of the emperor Henry V.

are absent, and day and night I am filled with anxieties. There is no need of many words on this occasion. You are well aware that our late emperor died without leaving any child, and we have therefore wisely to seek a successor, who will be faithful and devout to God, and render the greatest services to the sons of the church. Let then forty prudent and loyal knights be chosen among you, and let them retire, and, according to their faith and conscience, elect as emperor him whom they judge most worthy of the imperial throne,[1] and who will protect all the people under his government to the utmost of his power. All agreed to this proposal, though more than sixty thousand men were there present under arms; who, with different objects, watched the course affairs would take.

At last these politic chiefs, chosen from among so many thousand men in arms, returned, after a long conference, and thus spoke:—"We approve highly of Frederick duke of Almaine, Henry duke of Lorraine, and Lothaire duke of Saxony, and pronounce them to be persons of honour and worthy of the empire. This we affirm most certainly, not from any private favour, but from a consideration of what, in our judgment, is best for the general good. Take, in the name of God, whichever of these three you choose, for all are persons of distinguished merit, as they have long since proved, and, in our opinion, may justly be preferred to all the world for their pre-eminent qualities."

After hearing this the archbishop said: "Ye glorious princes who have been thus named, withdraw at once, and elect one of you three; him that you shall choose we will obey, in the name of Almighty God. But if any one of you shall refuse to submit to the decision of the rest, let him be beheaded on the spot,[2] that this sacred congregation of Christian men be not disturbed by the frowardness of one person. This rigorous proposal of the spirited bishop struck terror into the whole assembly, and no one in that vast multitude dared to whisper a word in opposition to the prelate.

[1] This account is not exact; the choice of the future emperor was entrusted to ten electors.

[2] It can hardly be conceived that the archbishop ventured to propose so violent a measure.

In consequence, the three dukes before-mentioned drew aside and took their stations in the middle of the armed legions, who formed a circle round them; then looking at each other they were all silent for some time. At length Henry first broke the silence, saying: "What are we doing here, my lords? Are we sent here to do nothing but hold our peace? We are charged with an affair of the highest importance; we are met here not to keep silence, but to speak of what concerns the general good. I have been long waiting to hear what you have to propose; shall we stand mute the whole of the day? Reflect upon the duty we are enjoined to fulfil, and let us know what is your pleasure." His colleagues agreeing that, as he was the eldest, he should be the first to make some proposition, he said: "It behoves us that our counsels be governed by wisdom, for all Christendom is anxiously waiting the result. Let us therefore pray the Lord God, who set Moses over the Hebrews, and revealed to him that Joshua should be his victorious successor, that of his mercy he would vouchsafe to co-operate with us, as he was present with Samuel when he anointed David as king." With these words he declared his choice in favour of his son-in-law, Lothaire.[1] The third elector feared to make any opposition, dreading the sentence which the archbishop had pronounced.

They then returned to the assembly of the states, and Henry, casting his eyes on the whole multitude, made this proclamation:—"We elect Lothaire, duke of Saxony, who is adorned with many virtues, and long proved both in arms and justice as filling a princely station, to be king of the Germans, the Lorrainers, the Teutons, the Bavarians, the Lombards and all the people of Italy, and emperor of the Romans." The whole assembly heard this decision, and great numbers of them heartily approved of it.

The primate who had convoked this diet was, as I have said before, the archbishop of Mayence. He then ordered that all the princes should immediately, before they left the field, do homage to Lothaire in the presence of the assembly. Whereupon Henry with joy and Frederick with sorrow, and

[1] The whole narrative is full of mistakes. The duke of Lorraine was neither one of the electors nor the father-in-law of Lothaire; and his name was not Henry, but Simon or Sigismund.

after them all the great lords, bent the knee before Lothaire, did homage to him, and acknowledged him as their king and emperor.[1]

No sooner was the meeting dissolved, than the troops of Frederick[2] fell on Lothaire, and wounding him and several of his party put them to flight. For Frederick had brought with him nearly thirty thousand men, hoping to secure the crown either by intimidation or favour. But his designs being baffled by the policy of the sagacious prelate as we have already seen, he employed his brother Conrad[3] to wage a fierce war against the new emperor. However, by God's help, Lothaire prevailed, and has now reigned ten years,[4] deserving praise for his talents and piety.

CH. XLIV. *Consecration of the cathedral of Séez, and the abbey church of St. Ouen at Rouen—Roger, count of Sicily, recovers the principality of Apulia.*

IN the year of our Lord 1126, the fourth indiction, the cathedral church of Séez,[5] dedicated to St. Gervase of Milan, the martyr, was consecrated on the twelfth of the calends of April [21st March], by the lord Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen and five other bishops. Henry, king of England, was present on the occasion with his nobles, and granted to the

[1] The election took place on the 30th of August, 1125, in the presence of the papal legates and Abbot Suger, whose influence greatly contributed to the rejection of the duke of Suabia.

[2] Frederick II. de Hohenstauffen, duke of Suabia, a great builder of castles, was grandson of Henry IV., and father of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa. It was a great misfortune that his elevation to the imperial throne was thwarted by the intrigues of Suger and the legates.

[3] Conrad de Hohenstauffen, created duke of Franconia in 1116 by his uncle, the emperor Henry V. It is supposed that he had gone to the Holy Land before the election. He was elected emperor in 1138, by the name of Conrad II.

[4] This appears to have been written towards the close of the year 1135, or the beginning of 1136.

[5] We think that the nave of the present cathedral at Séez is part of the edifice completed at the period mentioned in the text, although it has been said that the church did not escape the flames when the town was burnt down in 1150, and again in 1363. The architecture of the nave is in the pure early English style, light and lofty, with double lancet windows. But the most striking feature is the deeply-recessed portal at the west end (forty-seven feet deep), flanked by two spires.

The choir and transepts are in the decorated style of a later age.

church an endowment of ten pounds yearly rent.[1] Gerard, bishop of Angoulême and legate of the Roman church, John, bishop of Lisieux, John, bishop of Séez, Geoffery, bishop of Chartres, and Ulger, bishop of Angers, assisted at the ceremony.

In the month of October, the church of St. Peter the Apostle, in a suburb of Rouen, was dedicated. In this church the body of St. Ouen, archbishop and confessor, is honourably entombed.[2]

The same year William de Poitiers died.[3] Also William, duke of Apulia, son of Roger la Bourse, died without issue, and Pope Honorius attempted to subject the duchy to the dominion of the apostolic see. But Roger, the young count of Sicily, made head against this pretension, and, fighting several battles against the pope's army, recovered his cousin's principality by force of arms, and holds it to the present day under homage to the pope. He was the son of Roger, the elder son of Tancred de Hauteville, and the illustrious Adelaide, daughter of Boniface, the powerful marquis of Italy,[4] who, after the death of her first husband, who was the brother of Guiscard, married Baldwin, king of Jerusalem.

CH. XLV. *The fortunes of William, the exiled heir of Normandy—Charles, count of Flanders, assassinated—William succeeds him—His acts in Flanders—He dies of a wound received before Alost.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1127, the fifth indiction, Lewis, king of France, held a parliament of the great lords of his kingdom during Christmas,[5] and earnestly entreated them to

[1] A charter of Henry I. is extant, dated at Dieppe in 1131, from which it appears that the endowment made by the king on this occasion was fifteen pounds, not ten pounds, as stated by Ordericus, payable yearly from the royal fisc at Falaise and Exmes.

[2] The only part of this structure remaining is a lateral apse, which has received the name of "Chambre aux Clercs." The present church of St. Ouen, one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic architecture, was commenced in 1318, and completed towards the close of the fifteenth century.

[3] On the 20th of July, 1127.

[4] Boniface, marquis of Montferrat.

[5] This meeting took place at Christmas in the year 1126, Ordericus placing it in 1127, because he always reckons the year as commencing at Christmas, instead of the 1st of January.

take compassion on William the Norman,[1] and give him their succour. For he was a young man of illustrious birth, handsome, brave, and spirited, but from his infancy he had been a prey to misfortune. While he was yet a babe, his mother, Sibylla, a princess of Apulia, was taken off by poison. His father, Robert, duke of Normandy, was made prisoner at the battle of Tinchebrai, by Henry, king of England, his brother, who usurped the duchy of Normandy. When a mere boy he was entrusted by the king's order to the care of his brother-in-law, Elias de Saint Saens, as his guardian; by whom he was carried off to France for fear of the king and his partisans, and there brought up amongst foreigners in great indigence, and not without much apprehension. The young prince was sought for by many enemies, and in various ways, who threatened his life; and on the other hand there were many who sought to restore him to the inheritance of his father. Human means fail of success when Divine Providence otherwise disposes. Lewis, the king, with the chief lords of the kingdom of France, Baldwin, full of youthful ardour, and Charles also, both counts of Flanders, with their great men, Amauri de Montfort, count of Evreux, Stephen, count d'Aumale, and Henry, count d'Eu, Waleran, count de Mellent, with Hugh du Neufchâtel, Hugh de Montfort, and Hugh de Gournay, William de Roumare, and Baudri du Bois,[2] Richer de l'Aigle, Eustace de Breteuil, and many others, both Normans and Bretons, also Robert de Belèsme, with the forces of Anjou and Maine, endeavoured to aid the exile William, but God was against them, and having given King Henry the pre-eminence in profound wisdom, valour, wealth, and friends, they could do

[1] *Gulielmo Normanno.* Our author generally calls this young prince Gulielmus Clito, a designation, as we have more than once observed, equivalent to the title of atheling or etheling in the Anglo-Saxon times, and denoting in such cases the heir to the throne or duchy. In the translation we have usually adopted the style here used, and called him William the Norman.

[2] It has been remarked before, in connection with the battle of Brémule, that this is the same person as Baudri de Brai. We may add that he was the son and heir of Goel, lord of Baudemont, a castle on the right bank of the Epte, of which Bray, standing on a neighbouring islet, is a sort of tête du pont. Baudri made his peace with Henry I., and obtained from him the manor of Mutford and two others in the county of Suffolk, before 1131.

nothing. A great number of these lords were made prisoners for their wicked enterprise, and either disinherited or put to death. Many rebellions were raised against King Henry in this cause, and castles and farms were given to the flames. This is attested by the city and cathedral church of Evreux, with the abbey of nuns there; by Brionne, Montfort, and L'Aigle, by Pontaudemer, and Belèsme, as well as many other places which were reduced to ashes by the devouring flames.

At length, when William the exile had attained the age of twenty-six years, no one having been able to render him effectual aid against his uncle for the recovery of his paternal inheritance, Queen Adelaide gave him in marriage her half sister, whom she had by the Marquis Rainier.[1] King Lewis granted him Pontoise, Chaumont, Mantes, and all the Vexin. This took place in the month of January, and soon afterwards, before Lent, William proceeded to Gisors at the head of some troops to lay claim to Normandy; and the Normans paid him the respect due to their natural lord.

On the calends [1st of March],[2] Charles, duke of Flanders, son of Canute, king of Denmark, attended by

[1] This Queen Adelaide was the daughter of Humbert II., surnamed the Strong, count of Maurienne and Savoy, by Guisle or Gisèle, daughter of William the Great, count of Burgundy. She afterwards married Rainier, count of Montferrat. Their daughter Jane, who married William of Normandy, is not mentioned by the Savoyard and Italian historians.

[2] This fearful assassination took place on the 2nd, not on the 1st of March. The count and Thesnard, châtelain of Bourbourg, without any attendants, were in the church of St. Donatien at Bruges, kneeling before the altar of our Lady or St. Basil, and the count was reciting the fourth of the penitential psalms, when the assassins, to the number of seven or eight only, fell upon them. It was Burchard, who having touched the count on the shoulder to make him turn his head, dealt him so violent a blow that his brains were scattered on the pavement. The assassins then hastened to Thesnard's house to butcher his two sons, Walter and Gilbert; and afterwards learning that Thesnard still showed signs of life, and had even been able to receive the last sacraments, they returned with fresh fury, and dragging him by the feet, fractured his skull as they hauled him down the steps before the church porch. Count Charles had the honour of a public service to his memory on the very day of his death.

One of Thesnard's sons, named Henry, escaped the massacre of his family, and afterwards married Sibylla, commonly called the Rose, daughter of Manasses, count de Guignes.

Bourbourg was at this time a place of importance, and Robert the

Tesnard, castellan of Bourbourg, and twenty men-at-arms, went to the church at Bruges to hear mass. There, while praying to God prostrate on the floor, he was slain by Burchard de Lille, and thirty-two other men-at-arms, and almost all his attendants were cruelly massacred on the spot. William d'Ypres,[1] having heard of this monstrous outrage, immediately blockaded the castle of Bruges, and beset the cruel murderers on all sides, until the king of France arrived with William the Norman, and after closely besieging the bloody butchers for the period of a month, took them, and cast them headlong from the highest tower. The king then gave the duchy of Flanders to William the Norman, and received back the Vexin, and the fortresses which he had granted to him.[2] But William, having obtained

Jerusalemite bore the title of Count de Bourbourg during the latter years of his father, Robert the Frisian.

Almost all Burchard's accomplices, like himself, were of the family of Bertulf his uncle, provost of St. Domitien of Bruges, arch-chaplain and chancellor of Flanders, and the instigator of this bloody outrage. Their names were Guelric, Bertulf's brother, Robert his nephew, Walter another nephew, William de Verviers, Ingran *Esmensis*, Isaac, his cousin, Haket châtelain of Bruges, with some others.

[1] William d'Ypres was a natural son of Philip, the second son of Robert the Frisian, and burgrave of Ypres, who lost his life by falling out of a window in 1104. William took his name from Ypres, of which he was viscount. His mother was a low woman, who gained her livelihood by spinning all her days. It is not at all certain that he was not privy to the murder of Count Charles: demanding of Bertulf, when brought to his end on the gallows, who were his accomplices, the dying man replied, "You know as well as I do."

Lewis le Gros was compelled to besiege William at Ypres, and it was there that he was taken prisoner on the 26th of April, and not at Trie, as our author states a little further on. Being thrown into prison at Lisle, afterwards at Bruges, and then conveyed back to Lisle, he was set at liberty in the month of March, 1128, on promises of fidelity, which he did not keep. On the premature death of Count William he made himself master of Lécluse, and opposed Thierre d'Alsace, who drove him out of the country, and forced him to take refuge in England, where he entered the service of King Stephen, and became notorious in the lawless times which succeeded. We shall hear more of him. This William d'Ypres was one of the miscreants employed by Henry I., as principal agent in his intrigues against William the Norman in Flanders. It is for this reason that he is so favourably treated by our author.

[2] The castle had been invested by Gervase the chamberlain eight days after the bloody deed, and he was soon afterwards joined by Evain and Daniel, and also by the inhabitants of Gand (Ghent) and Bruges. The

the duchy by the king's gift and hereditary right, lived to govern it only eighteen months, and that with much toil and anxiety.

First, he took arms against the traitors who had compassed the murder of Duke Charles, and using all his efforts to trace them out, spared no one, without regard to nobility power, rank, or penitence. He condemned about one hundred and eleven of them, sentencing them to perish by being cast down headlong, or by other cruel deaths; in consequence of which the relations of the condemned criminals were overwhelmed with grief, and conspired for the ruin and destruction of the prince. Elias de San Saens, his guardian, who had so long shared his exile, along with Tirel de Manières, both of whom were disinherited, he rewarded with a grant of the castle of Montreuil.[1] In the month of August he marched an army against Stephen, count of Boulogne,[2] and in order to reduce him to submission, laid waste his territories with fire and sword in the most cruel manner. At length trusty negotiators were employed, and the two counts, who were cousins, joined hands, and concluded a truce for three years.

Meanwhile, Duke William being engaged in this expedition, during which the vicissitudes of fortune were sometimes in his favour, but more often the reverse, Evain de Gand,[3] and Daniel de Tenremonde,[4] the nephew of Baldwin

king and William Clito arrived at Bruges on Easter Tuesday; and on Tuesday the 19th of April, the beseiged surrendered at discretion. They were thrown headlong from the top of the tower of Bruges on Wednesday the 3rd of May. The election of Count William was held at Arras, in presence of the king, on the 25th or 26th of March, and renewed at Bruges the 2nd of April.

[1] Montreuil-sur-Mer.

[2] Stephen de Blois, count de Boulogne, in right of his wife Matilda de Boulogne, and afterwards king of England. He was cousin-german to William, the young heir of Normandy.

[3] Evain de Gand, who was afterwards lord, and steward, of St. Pavon, Alost, and Waes. He was a grandson of Baldwin I. of Gand, and the second son of Baldwin II., surnamed Le Gros. Evain and Daniel acted by the instigation not only of Henry I., but of the Countess Gertrude, named Petronilla, the wife of Florence II., count of Holland, and sister of Thierre of Alsace. It was about the middle of February, 1128, that Daniel, who until that time had been the friend of William the Norman, quarrelled with him through his taking the part of the Gantois, and drew Evain into the affair.

[4] Daniel de Tenremonde appears to have been a cousin-german of Evain,

de Gand,[1] set themselves with great address to obtain revenge for the loss of their friends, and used all their efforts to accomplish their object, to the loss of many. With this view they applied to Thierri, count of Alsace, and reproached him for suffering his hereditary rights to be sacrificed by his neglect and silence, and promised that if he asserted his claims they and others would support them. In consequence Thierri, count of Alsace,[2] and Lambert, count of Ardennes,[3] marched troops into Flanders, and with the consent of the Flemings, took possesion of a very strong castle called Lisle, together with Furnes, Gand, and several others. Duke William, on receiving intelligence of this movement, concluded a truce with Stephen, count of Boulogne, and entered on a mortal struggle with his intestine foes. He had to deal with men

as well as his most intimate ally. The first lord of Tenremonde, of whom we can find any account, is Rangot de Gand, who is mentioned in documents of 1046, 1052, and 1066. His son, Rangot II., steward (avoué) of St. Bavon at Gand, left an only daughter, who conveyed the lordship of Tenremonde to Walter de Gand, supposed to have been one of the sons of Baldwin de Gand, lord of Alost, who died in 1801, and was Evain's grandfather. These two distinguished Flemings were in the pay of Henry I., whose mortal hatred pursued his nephew William even into Flanders.

Tenremonde, now Termonde or Dendermont, standing at the confluence of the Scheldt and the Dendre, from which latter river it derives its name, is a large town above six leagues and a half east from Gand.

[1] Baldwin de Gand, lord of Alost, was father of Baldwin le Gros, who died at Nice in 1110. His sons were this Evain and his eldest brother, Baldwin III., surnamed Le Louche. He also bore the formidable surname of *Cernobodatus*, on account of the length of his beard. It is supposed that he was privy to the assassination of Count Charles. It appears that he had either died or taken the monastic habit before the 24th of October, 1127. This Baldwin was a person of great eminence, and is described by the chroniclers as a peer of the peers of Flanders, and the principal of the principal men of Brabant. He left only one daughter, whose name was Beatrix. Her uncle Evain, having robbed her of the greatest part of her property with the consent of Count Thierri, his great friend, forced her to marry Henry, the son of Thesnard of Bourbourg, who afterwards married, as we have already seen, Sibylla, also called the Rose, daughter of the Count de Guignes.

Alost is a town in East Flanders, standing on the Dendre, seven leagues S.E. of Gand.

[2] Thierri d'Alsace, the eldest son of Thierri, duke and marquis of Lorraine, by Gertrude of Flanders, daughter of Robert the Frisian. We find no account of his having been ever count of Alsace, but only lord of Bitche.

[3] Lambert, count of Clermont, near Liege, was son of Conon, count de Montaigu, nephew of Godfrey de Bouillon.

who were noble and powerful, distinguished for their courage and intrepidity, and formidable for their wealth, their alliances and fortresses, and their popularity with their countrymen.

In the month of July, the duke, having assembled an army, laid siege to the castle of Alost, and in concert with Godfrey, duke of Louvaine,[1] pressed it closely for several days. Numbers flocked to his standard out of Normandy, for there were many whose attachment to him was so great, and who, deceived by false hopes, placed so much confidence in him, that they abandoned their native country with their natural lords and their kindred, to serve under him. Some, however, of his adherents were culprits banished for treasons and murders.

William d'Ypres, a son of Robert, count of Flanders,[2] was the first to oppose him, but betrayed by fortune he fell into the duke's hands at Trie, a castle in the Vexin,[3] and was forthwith committed to the custody of Amauri de Montfort. Soon afterwards the duke, through the mediation of his friends, restored him to his favour and released him from confinement.

There were three fortresses at Ypres, one of which belonged to the duke, another to this William, and the third to Daniel and Evain. It was in this last that the duke's enemies plotted his death, and their plan was to force an entrance into his fortress in the night time; having first stationed four troops of soldiers outside, to prevent his having any opportunity of avoiding his fate by flight. Meanwhile, the duke, in entire ignorance of the fatal trap contrived for him, paid a visit to a young girl to whom he was attached. The girl knew of the enemy's plot, and, as according to her custom she was bathing his head, shed tears. The young prince inquired of his mistress what caused her to weep, and between entreaties and threats, drew from her with great address all the particulars which she had learnt from his enemies relating to their plot against

[1] Godfrey VII., surnamed the Bearded, duke of Lorraine, count of Brabrant and Louvain.

[2] A natural son of Robert the Frisian, as already stated.

[3] Trie-le-Château, near Gisors. But this is controverted, see note, p. 88.

his life. Thereupon he instantly seized his arms, without waiting to have his hair combed,[1] and took the girl with him, lest she should incur any risk; and sent her under the care of a certain abbot to William, duke of Poitiers, a companion of his in the wars, of his own age, requesting him to procure for her his liberator an honourable marriage, as if she were his own sister. And this was done.

Then Duke William passed in safety through all the parties who were placed in ambush for him, and incensed at the plot condemned his enemies as traitors. The warlike young prince afterwards collected troops from all quarters and sat down before the castle of Alost, assaulting it vigorously, and using every effort to compel the garrison to surrender the place. Often, he performed in his own person the duties both of a commander and private soldier, for which his loving guardians, who feared for his life, frequently blamed him. He often marshalled his troops and commanded them like an able general, but still oftener he fought like a gallant novice in arms.

One day, a body of the enemy approached a certain ford, with the intention of throwing relief into the besieged garrison; on perceiving which the duke instantly sent three hundred men-at-arms to defend the ford.[2] The conflict being much prolonged, and the enemy receiving reinforcements, the duke's troops began to waver and gave way a little. Seeing this, his spirit was roused, and he flew to their aid, and fighting valiantly so encouraged his men that they routed the enemy. On his return he made a sudden attack on the outworks before the castle gates, and taking by surprise a body of troops who had sallied out, dispersed them and put them to flight, while part leaped over the entrenchment. The duke, observing this movement, and attempting to seize the lance of a foot-soldier who still made resistance, was unfortunately wounded by the steel

[1] M. Le Prevost remarks that this amusing story is not preserved by the local historians, who were likely to be much better informed than our author. Ypres had been taken by the king of France and Count William as long before as the 26th of April, 1127, and the count made it his principal residence.

[2] The parchment of the manuscript being injured in this place, the sense of the passage is given after the text of Duchesne and the edition of the Historical Society of France.

blade which he was endeavouring to catch in his right hand, the point entering the fleshy part between the thumb and the palm, and dangerously piercing an artery in his arm. Finding himself severely wounded, he retired from the spot, and showing the wound to his friends complained that he suffered anguish which struck him to the heart. Soon afterwards he was compelled to retire to his bed; for what is called the "sacred fire"[1] mingled with the inflammation of the wound, and his whole arm up to the shoulder turned as black as a coal. He lay sick for five days, and being penitent for his sins, called for a monk's dress, and, fortified by receiving the Lord's body and by confession, then expired.

Elias and Tirrel, and the rest of the duke's household, who had always served him faithfully, concealed the fatal consequences of their young lord's wound from the Flemings and all strangers; and so pressed the garrison that they compelled them to surrender the place. Evain who commanded in the castle, having made propositions and delivered hostages, peace was signed, and he became on friendly terms with the besiegers. Then they led him to the tent of the Norman duke, and showed him, sorrowing, the body of their lord lying dead on a bier. "You may see here," they said, "what you have done; you have slain your lord, and brought sorrow on thousands without number." Evain, seeing this began to tremble, and so deep was his sorrow that he burst into tears. Upon which Elias said to him, "Cease, I pray you, to mourn, for now your tears are useless, and cannot help the duke; go and take your arms, cause your troops to arm themselves, and have the corpse of our deceased duke conveyed with all honour to St. Bertin."

This was shortly afterwards done; the convent of monks came forth in procession to meet the corpse and received it into the church. There it was buried by the side of Duke

[1] The malady described by our author is known as "St. Anthony's fire," a highly inflammatory erysipelas. It was in the course of July, 1128, that Count William, after having defeated Thierri, united his forces under the walls of Alost with those of his ally, Geoffrey-le-Barbu, who was besieging it on his own account, and had invested it on the 11th or 12th of that month. Thierri, Evain, and Daniel were in the place. It appears that the count was wounded on the 28th of July, and died on Friday, the 9th of August. The Flemish historian relates the circumstances somewhat differently.

Robert, and a stone laid over it, on which the following epitaph was inscribed:[1]

> Miles famosus, Gulielmus, vir generosus,
> Marchio Flandrensis, jacet hic, monachus Sithiensis;
> Rodbertus pater huic, materque Sibylla fuere;
> Et Normannorum gentis frenum tenuere.
> Luxque kalendarum sextilis quinta redivit,
> Cum pugnax apud Alost ferro plagatus obivit.

"Here lies William, count of Flanders, a soldier of renown, a man of illustrious birth, who became a monk of Sithieu. Robert was his father, and Sibylla his mother; they governed the people of Normandy. The fifth day of the calends of August had returned, when this warrior died of a wound received at Alost."

John the son of Odo, bishop of Bayeux,[2] was the first who brought to King Henry the intelligence of his nephew's death, and humbly placed in his hand's letters under his seal, in which the dying prince entreated his uncle to forgive him for all the ill he had done him, and conjured him to receive into his favour those who had attended or flocked to him in his exile, if they would return to his uncle's court. After reading this request the king granted it, and received with kindness several who came to him; more, however, overwhelmed with grief for the loss of their master, took the cross, and becoming exiles for Christ went on pilgrimage to his tomb at Jerusalem. Thierri of Alsace became duke of Flanders, and made an alliance with Lewis, king of France,[3] and a secret treaty with Henry, king of England. Stephen, count of Boulogne, and the other Normans who held lands in Flanders, did homage to King Henry in right of his crown.[5] After some years, Thierri

[1] In point of fact, Count William was buried in the church of St. Bertin, near his cousin Baldwin-à-la-Hache. This epitaph proves that he died in the monastic habit, as our author relates.

[2] See what is said in b. viii. c. 1, of the eloquence and merit of this person, who was an ornament of the court of Henry I. A son of his, named Robert *Petit-Fils*[4] *de l'Evêque* (*Nepos Episcopi*), appears on the exchequer rolls of 1131. This Robert seems to have been the grandfather of William du Hommet, constable of Normandy, under Henry II.

[3] However, he did not do homage for his fief to Lewis le Gros till 1132.

[4] *A secretis.* This does not give us a high idea of the good faith of the contracting parties towards the French king.

M. Le Prevost observes, that he cannot understand how the king of Eng-

lost his first wife, who was a very beautiful woman, and by the advice of the king of England married Sibylla of Anjou, the widow of his predecessor.[1]

CH. XLVI. *King Henry's lenity to William the Norman's adherents—William de Roumare marries the daughter of Richard de Reviers—Endows monks at Neufchâtel—Death of Robert, duke of Normandy.*

SUPPORTED by the aid of the Supreme Ruler of events, King Henry stood firm at the summit of power in the midst of so many adverse circumstances, and pardoning the rebels who abandoned their rash enterprises and approached him as supplicants, he wisely, as well as kindly, received them with favour. First, as I have already mentioned, William de Roumare made an honourable peace with the king, and afterwards was admitted among his courtiers and intimate friends; the king also gave him for wife the noble lady Matilda, daughter of Richard de Reviers,[2] who bore him a fine boy named William Elias.[3] William de Roumare had been in his youth a libertine, and gave the rein to his passions, but scourged by the divine rod, he fell into a grievous sickness; this led him to consult with Archbishop Geoffrey, under whose monitions he made a vow to God for the amendment of his life. When his health was restored, returning to Neuf-Marché, where four secular canons then served the church, he established seven monks, and added liberally to the endowment which Hugh de Grantmesnil

land could have any suzerainty in Flanders. It must have been for their lands in Normandy, we should conclude, that these lords did homage to Henry.

[1] His first wife was Swanchilde, who was not the widow of his predecessor, Charles of Denmark, whose name was Margaret of Clermont. She died about 1130.

His second wife, Sibylla of Anjou, who had been betrothed to William of Normandy, married Thierri of Alsace in 1134, and attended him in his two last journeys to the Holy Land. The last time she remained behind, against his consent, and took the veil in the convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany in 1158.

[2] Richard de Redvers, Reviers, or Rivers, lord of Néhou in Normandy, and of Okehampton in England, and afterwards earl of Devon. See vol. ii. p. 498, and note (b. viii. c. 15), and vol. iii. p. 418 and note (b. xi. c. 32), where we find that he was dead in 1107, and was buried in the abbey of Montebourg.

[3] It does not appear that this child lived.

had made for the monks of St. Evroult in that house.[1] He granted a charter confirming the grant of what he had given, and repaired the chancel[2] and the lodgings of the monks.

William, the young count of Flanders, having died in the twenty-eighth year of King Henry's reign, with him departed the strength and daring of all who abetted him against his uncle. Their daring arrogance had no one to whom it could be attached, after the young chief, in whose cause they had devastated the fields of Normandy with fire and sword, had perished. Duke Robert, who was then confined at Devizes, felt in a dream just at that time his right arm struck by a lance, and he seemed then to lose the use of it. When the duke awoke in the morning he said to those about him: "Alas! my son is dead." The intelligence had not been orally conveyed by messsengers to that place, when the duke, instructed by his dream, intimated to his attendants his son's death. He himself died six years afterwards at Cardiff,[3] and then, carried forth from his prison, was buried at Gloucester.

CH. XLVII. *Extracts from the prophecies of Merlin relating to English history, with comments upon them.*

SEE how the prophecy of Ambrosius Merlin, delivered in the time of Vortigern, king of Britain[4] was clearly fulfilled in many instances during a period of six hundred years. I may therefore be allowed to introduce in this work some of his predictions which appear to relate to the present era. Merlin was contemporary with St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre. He twice crosed over to England in the time of the Emperor Valentinian,[5] and, disputing against Pelagius and his disciples who cavilled at the doctrine of divine grace, confuted the heretics by many miracles wrought in the name of the Lord. Then, after devoutly celebrating the feast of Easter,

[1] See vol. i. p. 397.

[2] This chancel is probably the same which now exists in the church of Neufmarché-en-Lions. There is a plate of it in the "Records of the House of Gournay."

[3] See afterwards, b. xiii. c. 9.

[4] Vortigern is supposed to have flourished about the year 447.

[5] The first visit to England of St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, was made in 430, when the Alleluia victory was gained.

he fought against the Anglo-Saxons, who being pagans waged war against the Christian Britons; and prevailing more by his prayers than his arms, routed the heathen host with an army of the newly baptized in the faith, he himself shouting Alleluia during the battle. Should anyone desire to learn more of these events and the fortunes of the Britons, he should peruse the books of Gildas the British historian, and Bede the English writer,[1] in which the reader will find a lucid narrative of the acts of Vortimer and

[1] The History of the Britons by Gildas, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History, have been published in *Bohn's Antiq. Lib.* in English translations. As to Germanus, see Bede, b. i. c. 17, 21 (p. 26—33).

The pretended prophecies of Ambrosius Merlin, long cherished among the native population of Britain, and consoling them for their humiliation by the promise of bloody and glorious reprisals on the Anglo-Saxon race, do not appear to have become known to the Normans until a late period in the reign of Henry I. It was probably about the same time that the story of Brutus, published by Geoffrey of Monmouth soon afterwards, presented to the Normans, in a series of absurd fables, a magnificent account of the origin of the people whom they had lately reduced to subjection. If we may apply the term to such romances, we may say that these "Acts of the Bretons" were of the same character as the "Acts of the Romans" (*Gesta Romanorum*) which were then generally current, and from which our author frequently borrowed his materials. They formed a sort of British epic, well calculated to seize the attention of the various races with which the country was now peopled much more vividly than the disjointed stories which found their way over the channel, and had little interest but for the localities in which they originated.

The prophecies of Merlin, when now carefully adapted to circumstances, and thus given to the world, were admirably suited to complete a reaction which assumed an historical character. In this way, the past, the present, and the future of the English nation, and its mixed populations, were represented as ordered and linked together in a regular series; and so we find them soon afterwards, as a natural consequence, in the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The success of this combination was immense, both in England and even on the continent. Not only the people of Normandy, but those also who filled its castles, its schools, and its cloisters, and even grave politicians, such as Suger, became the dupes of the imposture. The predictions of Merlin, implicitly accepted as soon as they made their appearance, were, like the Sibylline books, placed on nearly the same footing as the holy scriptures; became the subjects of elaborate commentaries as early as the twelfth century, and were frequently quoted with respect during the whole of the middle ages. Among other works in which these prophecies were treated as authentic, the commentary of Alain de Lisle, printed at Frankfort in 1603 and 1649, and the paraphrase in verse of John of Cornwall may be especially mentioned.

his brothers, with those of the valiant Arthur, who fought twelve battles against the English.

We are told that Merlin showed Vortigern a pond in the middle of the floor, and in the pond two vessels, and in the vessels a tent folded up, and in the tent two worms, one of which was white and the other red. The worms grew very fast, and becoming dragons, fought desperately with each other. At last, the red dragon conquered and drove the white dragon to the margin of the pond.[1] The king beholding these things, with the Britons, was sorely distressed and wept. Merlin, being then interrogated by the astonished spectators, explained in the spirit of prophecy that the pond in the middle of the floor signified the world; the two vessels, the British isles; the tent, the towns and villages of Britain, the seats of human habitation; by the two worms were meant the British and English people, who should harass each other by turns in fierce conflicts, until the bloody Saxons, who are designated by the red dragon, had driven into Cornwall, and to the shores of the ocean, the Britons, who are figured by the white dragon, because they were arrayed in white at the baptismal font from the times of King Lucius, and pope Eleutherius.

The prophet also predicted the course of events which would occur in future ages in the islands of the north, and reduced his prophecy to writing in allegorical language. Having spoken of the Germanic worm and the decimation of Neustria, which was fulfilled in Alfred, brother of Edward, the son of King Ethelred, and his companions at Guilford,[2] he made predictions concerning the revolutions of the

[1] There is no pure and authentic text of these prophecies extant, and our author's reading differs materially in some points from the version given by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Among other variations, the latter omits the passage about the tent and the two worms, and transposes the colours assigned to the two dragons, in the subsequent explanation. This reading is not happy, for red, as we have had occasion to observe before, was the national colour of the Britons, and also of the Scandinavians and their Norman descendants.

[2] In 1036, according to the Saxon chronicle. The narrative is more circumstantially related by Henry of Huntingdon, who gives the date of 1040 to the massacre. M. Le Prevost considers the use of the word *Neustria* to prove clearly an interpolation of this passage after the fact, as Neustria did not exist as a kingdom or province in the time of Merlin.

present age, and the troublesome vicissitudes of affairs, to the following effect:—

"A people shall come over, in timber and in coats of iron, who shall execute vengence for iniquity.[1] It shall restore the ancient inhabitants to their homes, and the ruin of the strangers shall be made manifest. Their germs shall be eradicated out of our gardens, and the remains of that race shall be decimated; they shall bear the yoke of perpetual servitude, and shall tear their mother with ploughs and harrows. Two dragons shall succeed, one of whom shall be slain by the darts of malice,[2] and the other shall *perish* under the shadow of a name.[3] A lion of justice[4] shall succeed, whose roar shall cause the towns of France, and the dragons of the island to tremble. In his days gold shall be extorted from the lily and the nettle, and silver shall be scattered abroad by the hoofs of lowing kine. The men with crisped locks shall wear clothes of various textures and colours, and their exterior shall betoken their interior. The feet of lurchers shall be struck off. The beasts of chase shall be undisturbed. Humanity shall mourn over the punishment. The tokens of commerce shall be cut in sunder, and the halves shall be round.[6] The rapacious kites

[1] The Normans who came over in ships, wearing coats of mail.

[2] William Rufus.

[3] Robert Curthose, who after his captivity retained only the name of duke. In order to make some sense of this passage we have ventured conjecturally to substitute *peribit*, shall perish, which is the word our author subsequently uses in his explanation of the prophecy, for *redibit*, shall return, which latter is the reading of Duchesne and the French Historical Society's editions of Ordericus. In Geoffrey of Monmouth, the reading is *ridebit*, shall laugh.

[4] The "lion of justice" represents Henry I.

[5] All the details figuratively expressed in this paragraph with reference to the reign of Henry I. are historical facts.

[6] This appears to be an allusion to the practice which prevailed of splitting the silver pennies then current into halves and quarters, and the latter clause seems closely to apply to the fact of these halves being subsequently called in, and a coinage of "round" farthings issued instead. If the prophecy could be so explained, it would be one of the most extraordinary in the whole series. For the new coinage to which we refer was not issued until late in the reign of Edward I. a century at least after our author's time. See what Florence of Worcester says of these triangular farthings, p. 361, of the edition in *Bohn's Antiq. Lib;* and a note there on the new coinage.

shall perish, and the teeth of wolves be blunted. The lion's whelps shall be transformed into sea-fishes,[1] and his eagle shall build her nest on the Araunian mountains.[2] Venedocia shall be red with a mother's blood, and the house of Corineus shall slay six bretheren.[3] The island shall be bathed in the tears of night, and thence the people shall be incited to all sorts of villainies.[4] The men of after times shall aspire to soar aloft, and new men shall rise to favour and eminence. Piety shall be turned by the impious to the injury of those who possess it.[5]

"Armed therefore with the teeth of the bear, it shall transcend the summits of the mountains and the shade of the helmed warrior. Albany shall be roused to fury, and calling in those who dwell by her side shall give herself up to the shedding of blood.[6] A bit forged on the Armorican sea shall be put into its jaws; but the eagle that severs the bond shall devour it, and shall exult in making her nest for the third time. The whelps of the roaring lion shall awake, and

[1] This was applied, as the interpolator no doubt intended, to the shipwreck of King Henry's children in the Blanche-Nef.

[2] Editors and commentators are quite at a loss about these "Araunian mountains." In the text of Geoffrey of Monmouth we have *Montem Aranium*. Alain de Lisle offers three versions, *Montem Moranium*, Montem Avium, and Montem Aravium, adding that the last is the name of a mountain in England. John of Cornwall adopts the reading of *Aravium*.

[3] Venedocia, as Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, is an ancient name of North Wales. Corineus was said to be a companion of Brutus, and the first king of Cornwall; while the six brethren put to death like the six sons of Erectheus, are, according to Alain de Lisle, the six sons of Fremun, who was viscount of Cornwall under Henry I.

[4] In the version of Ordericus a passage is here omitted which too transparently alludes to the circumstances attending the embalment of Henry I. (See Henry of Huntingdon's Hist. p. 262.) It is this: "Woe to thee, Neustria, for thou shalt be bespattered with the lion's brain, and he shall be borne from his native land with dismembered limbs." The explanation of this passage not being found in the text of our author is perfectly natural: he wrote the passage before the event, and consequently before the prediction.

[5] We can make no sense of the sequel of this sentence, *donec sese genitorem induerit*.

[6] Albany, as every one knows, is Scotland. The passage may refer to the continual incursions of the Scots on the English border, and to the Breton troops (Armorica being Brittany) in the pay of Henry I., and employed to *bridle*, in the language of the prophecy, his numerous enemies.

leaving the forests, shall hunt under the walls of towns. They shall make a great carnage among all who resist, and tear out the tongues of bulls. The necks of the lions shall be loaded with chains, and ancient times be renewed. After that, from the first to the fourth, from the fourth to the third, from the third to the second, the thumb shall be smeared with oil. The sixth shall throw down the walls of Ireland,[1] and convert the woods into an open country. He shall reduce the several portions to one, and shall be crowned with the lion's head. He shall restore the places of the saints through the country, and fix pastors in convenient situations. He shall invest two cities with palls, and confer virgin gifts on virgins. He shall therefore obtain by his merits the favour of the Thunderer, and shall be crowned among the blest. There shall arise from him a pest,[2] which shall penetrate every where, and threaten ruin to his own nation. Through it Neustria shall lose both islands, and be shorn of her former diginity. Then the citizens shall return to the island."

I have made these short extracts from Merlin's book and offer them to the studious who are not acquainted with it. Some of his prophecies I have traced to events now past, and, if I mistake not, more of them will be verified in the experience of posterity either with joy or sorrow. Persons acquainted with history will easily understand the words of

[1] The prophecies of Merlin having relation to Ireland, are introduced and commented on by Giraldus Cambrensis in his History of the Conquest of that island, insomuch that from this circumstance, and the reference to other ancient predictions, he gave it the title of "The Vaticinal History." The reducing the several portions into one is taken to refer to the union of the four provinces, into which Ireland was divided, under one supreme lord and governor. The application of the other passages of this supposed prophecy to Irish history will be discussed in a forthcoming edition of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis in the *Antiquarian Library*. We may, however, here remark, as a curious addition to the evidence we have produced of the high estimation in which these prophecies were held, that John de Courcy, one of the principal leaders in the enterprise for the conquest of Ireland, was so convinced of their truth that he always carried a copy of them about his person, and applied portions of them to his own acts.

[2] *Lues.* There is an important variation in Geoffrey's and all the other versions of the prophecies, which read *lynx;* and this passage was in a later age applied to Henry II., although history does not lead us to think that the king was gifted with the quick sense attributed to that animal.

Merlin, when they recollect what happened under Hengist and Catigirn, Pascent and Arthur, Ethelbert and Edwin, Oswald and Oswy, Cedwal and Alfred, and other princes both English and British, until the times of Henry and Griffyth,[1] who in the uncertainty of their lot are still expecting what may befall them in the ineffable dispensations of Divine Providence. For instance, it is as clear as light to the intelligent reader, that Merlin is speaking of the two sons of William, when he says: "Two Dragons shall succeed," meaning libertine and fierce princes, "one of whom," that is William Rufus, "shall be slain by the darts of malice," namely by an arrow in hunting, "the other," that is duke Robert, "shall perish in the shadows of a dungeon, retaining only his former title," that of duke. "The lion of justice shall succeed, which refers to Henry," at whose roar the towers of France and the Island dragons shall tremble; because in wealth and power he transcends all who reigned in England before him. In the same manner, the wise can clearly decypher the rest.[2] I might

[1] Henry I. and Griffith-ap-Rhys. This passage is of some importance, because we infer from it, that the whole paragraph was written before the death of Henry I., as we have already concluded from its omitting the prediction relative to the embalment of that prince.

[2] The result of our examination of the text of these prophecies is that Ordericus and Geoffrey used one and the same Latin translation of them, which was then in existence, but was not of earlier date than the reign of Henry I.; but Geoffrey omitted some passages and introduced others which have been pointed out in preceding notes.

We may also observe that the Latin translation of the history of Brute was no more Geoffrey's, than that of the prophecies of Merlin. Henry of Huntingdon informs us, in his epistle to Warin, that when he was at the abbey of Bec in Normandy, on his way to Rome (in 1139), Robert Delmont (called also De Torigni), a monk of that society, showed him, to his great surprise, a manuscript of Geoffrey's work recently written. This could hardly have escaped the research of Henry of Huntingdon in England, if it had already been in the library of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, the historian's patron. "I have never been able to discover any traditions or writings containing records of the earlier periods of English history"—he tells his friend Warin, who being a Breton was acquainted with these marvellous compositions, and blamed him for having omitted any notice of them in his chronicle. It may therefore be inferred that Geoffrey of Monmouth met with a translation of these British annals, and was content to make a mere transcript of it, as it is quite clear that he did of the prophecies in the passage quoted by Ordericus.

say more in explanation, if I undertook to write a commentary on Merlin. But leaving this, I resume the course of my narrative, and shall faithfully relate the events which have occured in my own time.

CH. XLVIII. *Succession of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem—Sickness and death of Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen—A synod there—Henry's daughter Matilda marries Geoffrey Plantagenet—Fulk, count of Anjou, marries Baldwin's daughter, and succeeds him as king of Jerusalem.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1128, the sixth indiction, died Gormond,[1] patriarch of Jerusalem. After him Stephen of Chartres[2] governed the holy Sion for two years. On his death he was succeeded by William of Flanders.[3] In the seventh indiction, Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, fell sick, and after a long illness departed this life on the sixth of the calends of December [November 26th].[4] While the archbishop lay sick, and in concern for the salvation of his soul, gave away all he possessed, Matthew, a monk of Cluni, who was bishop of Albano and legate of the Roman church, came to Rouen to meet King Henry, and treat with him on matters concerning the welfare of the church. Whereupon, by the king's command, the bishops and abbots of Normandy were convoked at Rouen, the capital, and in the king's presence heard the decrees pronounced by the legate of Pope Honorius to the following effect:[5]—

"That no priest shall have any wife. Any priest who will not give up cohabiting with a concubine shall not hold a church, or obtain any share in ecclesiastical preferments, and none of the faithful shall hear mass celebrated by him.[6]

[1] Gormond, son of Gormond II., lord of Picquigni (1118—1128.)

[2] Stephen, a regular canon and abbot of St. Jean-de-Vallée, a relation of King Baldwin. It is supposed that he was poisoned (1128—1130).

[3] William de Malines, a canon of the Holy Sepulchre (1130—1144 or 1145.)

[4] Our author gives November 26 as the date of this prelate's death, but according to the registers of the cathedral, and the priory of Soissons, it was the 28th of that month (1128).

[5] It appears from what follows that this synod was held in the month of September.

[6] Our author has not thought proper to give any account of the reception which this canon, the product of the council of Rheims, met with in Eng-

"That one priest shall not serve two churches, nor any clerk hold prebends in more than one church; but let him serve God in the church where he is beneficed, and pray daily for its benefactors.

"That neither monks nor abbots shall receive gifts of churches or tithes from the hands of laics, but the laics who have usurped them shall surrender them to the bishop, and the monks shall receive from the bishop what is offered, according to the intentions of the possessors. Such churches and tithes as laymen have already acquired by any means whatsoever, they shall continue to hold without let or hindrance by the indulgence of the pope; but from henceforth they shall not presume to usurp any thing of this kind without the licence of the bishop in whose diocese they are situated or arise."

The Roman legate then absolved all persons from their past transgressions; and in the month following, as I have

land two years before, principally on account of the scandal occasioned by the cardinal legate, John de Crema, who was said to have been detected in the act of fornication the very night after he had declaimed in the synod on the immoralities of the clergy. Henry of Huntingdon gives the best account of this affair (Hist. p. 252); and it is also mentioned by most of the other historians. The consequence was, that the cardinal turned his steps homewards in confusion and dishonour. He was not, as he is called in some versions of the chronicles, bishop of Cremona or Crema, but a native of the latter place, a city in the Bolognese, and son of Ulric and Ratilda. Created a cardinal-priest, under the title of St. Chrysogonus, by Pascal II., he was employed to besiege the antipope, Gregory VIII. (Maurice Bourdin), in Sutri, and found means to carry him off bound in fetters to Rome, as we have before seen (p. 43). Ciacomius is compelled to admit the charges of simony, and especially of his being surprised in the act of fornication alleged against him by Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden, and Matthew of Westminster. The historian of the popes makes the most of the silence of William of Malmesbury, a purely negative argument, which does not appear by any means conclusive.

From England this legate went to Scotland, engaged in his usual mission against ecclesiastics who were married, or *quasi*-married. He had, therefore, to pass through Durham, where he was entertained by bishop Ranulf Flambard. This gave rise to another story of the same kind, in which the old bishop bore a part. But, crafty as Flambard always was, it is difficult to conceive that after the scandal of his adventure at London, the cardinal should have fallen into the snare laid for him, and so soon exposed himself to the same danger.

We have remarked before that King Henry managed to turn this dispute to his own advantage, filling his treasury with the money paid him by the clergy for licence to retain their conjugal privileges.

said before, the archbishop died. There were at this synod, with the legate, Geoffrey bishop of Chartres, Gosselin the Red, bishop of Soissons, and all the bishops of Normandy, namely, Richard of Bayeux, Ouen of Evreux, Turgis of Avranches, John of Lisieux, Richard of Coutances, and John of Séez. Several abbots were also present, namely, Roger of Fécamp, William of Jumièges, Ragenfred of St. Ouen, Warin of St. Evroult, Philip of St. Taurin, with Alann, abbot-elect of St. Wandrille, and some others. They were protected by King Henry, who would not permit the bishops to subject them to any grievance.[1]

In the year of our Lord, 1129, the seventh indiction, the boy Philip was chosen by his father Philip, and crowned as king at Rheims by Reynold II.,[2] archbishop of that see on Easter day; but two years afterwards he was so severely fractured by his horse falling under him, that he died at Paris.[3]

The same year King Henry gave his daughter Matilda to Geoffrey count of Anjou; Turgis, the aged bishop of Avranches, giving them the nuptial benediction.[4] After the

[1] Our author has forgotten to mention an important fact which belongs to the year 1128. It is the sudden invasion of the country of Maine by Henry I., having for its object to prevent Lewis le Gros from affording aid to William of Normandy. This skilful combination had all the success that the politic king could hope to derive from it, as by cutting off the young count from his powerful protector, it brought about the events which terminated in his tragical end.

Henry of Huntingdon thus speaks of it: "The sagacious king Henry spent the whole of the next year (1128) in Normandy, and made a hostile incursion into France, because the French king supported his nephew and enemy. He encamped for eight days at Épernon, as securely as if he had been in his own dominions, and compelled King Lewis to withdraw his succour from the earl of Flanders." *Hist.* p. 254. Roger of Wendover copies Huntingdon, but places the fact under the year 1129, when this diversion could no longer have had any object.

[2] Reynold de Martigni. The king of England assisted at the coronation in quality of duke of Normandy.

[3] The young prince was born August 22, 1116, crowned at Rheims on Easter day, April 14, 1129, and died on October 13, 1131, from the consequences of a fall from his horse in the streets of Paris, occasioned by a pig which ran between its legs.

[4] It is difficult to ascertain exactly the date of the marriage of the empress Matilda with Geoffrey Plantagenet.

It seems clear that they were betrothed at Rouen at Whitsuntide, May

due celebration of this marriage, Count Fulk went again on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem,[1] and there married the daughter of Baldwin II., obtaining easily by this union the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch, which the most famous warriors had acquired with so much difficulty.[2] Indeed, his aged father-in-law offered him the crown at once, but, as the junior, he refused to accept it during Baldwin's life. Still, as his son-in-law and heir, Fulk held the reins of power during the year afterwards that the old king survived.

At first he provided for the future with less caution than was politic; too hastily appointing governors and changing other authorities without sufficient reason. The chiefs who had obstinately fought against the Turks from the beginning, and with great labour reduced cities and strong places to subjection under Godfrey and the two Baldwins, the new prince treated with coolness, and lending a too willing ear to strangers from Anjou and other new comers who had no experience, repaid their flatteries by calling them to the counsels of the kingdom, and entrusting to them the custody

22, 1127, in the presence of King Henry, who then conferred the order of knighthood with great solemnity on his intended son-in-law and five young gentlemen of Anjou. But as the count, who was born on August 24, 1163, was not yet fifteen years old, we imagine with our author and the chronicle of Tours, that the marriage was not celebrated until the octave of Whitsunday in 1129, which fell that year on June 2, and that it was solemnized at Mans by the bishop of the diocese, Guy d'Etampes, assisted by the bishop of Séez, and probably by the prelates of Touraine and Anjou. It is very likely that on account of the infirmities of the archbishop of Rouen it was Turgis, the bishop of Avranches, who officiated at the espousals, as our author relates, either in the capacity of dean of the suffragans, or, in the absence of the bishop of Bayeux, the first suffragan.

The marriage did not turn out happily: "a few days only passed," says Simeon of Durham, "when it was told the king that his daughter was repudiated and cast off by her husband, and had returned to Rouen with a small retinue, which troubled him much. It appears that both husband and wife had most disagreeable tempers. However, we find that in 1130, after deliberation in solemn council, it was resolved that the king's daughter should be restored to her husband, the count of Anjou, as he demanded. Henry Hunt. p. 258.

[1] This second journey of Fulk, count of Anjou, to Jerusalem, took place in the latter part of 1129.

[2] This princess, whose name was Melisende, was the eldest daughter of Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem.

of fortresses, the former governors being set aside. This occasioned deep resentment, and the pride of the nobles desperately revolted against the inexperienced prince who made these changes in office. Inspired with the spirit of evil, they long directed against their fellow Christians that warlike enterprise which they should have unanimously employed against the Gentiles, uniting with them in all parts against each other. Hence ensued the loss of many thousand men and of some strong places.

In the year of our Lord, 1130, the eighth indiction, Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem, died[1] on the eighteenth of the calends of September [August 15th], and Fulk of Anjou has now been king six years.[2]

In the same year Hugh of Amiens, a monk of Cluni, and abbot af Reading, was made archbishop of Rouen.[3]

In the year of our Lord, 1131, Pope Honorius died at Rome, and there presently arose a scandalous schism in the church of God; for Gregory, the deacon, was elected pope by some persons, and named Innocent, while others consecrated Peter, Anaclete.[4]

[1] Baldwin died August 21, 1131, and Fulk was crowned on the 14th of September following.

[2] This must have been written in 1137.

[3] Archbishop Hugh, however he obtained the surname of *d'Amiens*, was a native of Laon, where he pursued his studies under the celebrated Anselm of Laon. We learn from Robert du Mont, that he was not consecrated till the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14), 1130; but his election must have taken place at least in 1129, as we find that the election of the chapter was confirmed by Pope Honorius who died Feb. 14, 1130. It is supposed that he was a brother of the legate Matthew, bishop of Albano. At least they were countrymen.

[4] Innocent II. was elected by fourteen cardinals on the same morning on which Honorius died, or the next; and Peter de Léon (who took the name of Anaclete) was chosen by all the other cardinals, as soon as the late pope's death was publicly known. Both were enthroned the same day, and consecrated on the 23rd. Anaclete's party being the strongest at Rome, Innocent retired to France, where St. Bernard had already obtained his recognition by an assembly at Chartres.

BOOK XIII.

CH. I. *Return of the Crusaders—Death of Geoffrey count of Mortain and William de Moulins.*

WHILE the pilgrims from the West were engaged in constant wars against the Pagans in Palestine, and by frequent conflicts and long sieges reduced Jerusalem and other cities to the dominions of Christ, Geoffrey count of Mortain,[1] the son of count Rotrou, a man eminent for many good qualities, fell sick unto death, and having called about him the lords of le Perche and le Corbonnais, who were vassals to him as count of Mortain, he put his affairs in order with great wisdom. Giving prudent directions to his wife Beatrix, who was the daughter of the count de Rouci,[2] and the lords of his own county, he prayed them faithfully to maintain peace and security, and keep his lands and strong places for his only son Rotrou who had gone in pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[3] Then the brave lord, having duly received all the rites of the church, was made a Cluniac monk and died in the middle of October, at his castle of Nogent,[4] where he was buried; his father having commenced building a monastery there in honour of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, which he had richly endowed with lands and other possessions.[5]

In the course of the same month also died William de Moulins a most intrepid lord-marcher, who was buried in the chapter-house at St. Evroult.[6]

In the year of our Lord 1100, the great nobles having accomplished the purposes for which they went to Jerusalem, returned home, and, as was just, reinstated themselves in their own possessions. Then Robert duke of Normandy,

[1] Geoffrey II., Count de Mortain, son of Rotrou, and grandson of Geoffrey I., who was before Viscount de Châteaudun.

[2] Beatrix de Rouci, daughter of Baldwin IV., Count de Montdidier, d'Arcies, and de Rameru, and Count de Rouci, in right of his wife Alice.

[3] At the first crusade. We are now brought back to the year 1100.

[4] Nogent-le-Rotrou. In October, 1100.

[5] This monastery was not begun by his father Rotrou, but by his grandfather Geoffrey in 1031.

[6] See vol. iii. p. 221 (b. x. c. 8).

and Robert count of Flanders, Rotrou, count of Mortain, and many others came back in safety and took possession of their territories; amidst the congratulations of their friends and neighbours.[1]

CH. II. *Alfonso I., king of Navarre, receives the assistance of his cousin Rotrou, count of Mortain, against the Infidels.*

A SHORT time afterwards Alfonso, king of Arragon,[2] was severely pressed by the Pagans, and suffered greatly from frequent encounters and heavy losses. He therefore sent envoys to his cousin Rotrou, and humbly entreated him to come to his aid in the war he was waging against the heathens, and bring French auxiliaries whose valour had been tried in many difficult circumstances. He also promised to give the French who rendered him service liberal pay, and fertile lands to such as chose to remain with him. The most valiant count, without loss of time, summoned together his companions in arms, and marching to the aid of the king his cousin, gave him his support without fraud or covin; but he did not find the same good faith among the Spaniards. For although, with his comrades and compatriots, he performed many noble exploits, and the Saracens were much terrified by their prowess, the Spaniards contrived plots against them, and laid plans for cutting off their own auxiliaries; as it is supposed, with the consent of the king. This infamous design having been discovered to the French by some of the accomplices, Rotrou and his companions bid farewell to the king and his treacherous Spaniards, and returned to France without any adequate reward for their great exertions.

CH. III. *Hostilities between Rotrou count de Mortain, and Robert de Belèsme about their bordering territories—Their relationship.*

ABOUT this time serious disputes arose between Rotrou and Robert de Belèsme respecting certain claims which

[1] On the fifth day after his return home, being Sunday, Rotrou went to pay his devotions at the church of St. Denis at Nogent, where his father was lately buried; and made his offering, with the palms he had brought from Jeruralem, on the altar of St. Denis.

[2] Alfonso I., surnamed le Batailleur, king of Navarre and Arragon in 1104, was cousin-german of Rotrou II., by his mother, Felicia de Rouci, sister of the countess Beatrice.

those marcher lords had on each other in relation to the border of their respective territories. In consequence, fierce hostilities broke out between them, the farms on both sides were pillaged and given to the flames, the defenceless people plundered, suffering great losses, and being kept in continual alarms; so that both the military and rural tenants who held under these lords, were grievously harassed. However, Rotrou gained the advantage, having defeated and put to flight Robert in battle, and taken several of his men; whom he kept in close imprisonment, These lords were cousins,[1] and in consequence had quarrels respecting the possessions of their ancestors. Warin de Domfrout who was strangled by demons,[2] was Rotrou's great-grandfather; and Robert (I.) de Belèsme, whom the sons of Walter le Sore butchered like a pig, with strokes of their axes, in the the dungeon of Balon,[3] was the uncle of Mabel, Robert's mother. Wherefore, Robert (II.) obtained sole possession of Domfrout, Belèsme, and all the domains of his parents, and so far from allowing any one to share a portion of his wealth and power, he was never satisfied unless he was further aggrandizing them by force or fraud.

The counts Geoffrey and Rotrou having adjoining territories, had made frequent and urgent demands [on Robert de Belèsme] for the restitution of their portion of the inheritance of their ancestors; but that tyrant, being in possession of thirty-four strong places, defied all their efforts to recover their rights, although they were able to inflict severe losses upon him. Meanwhile, Henry king of England, becoming sensible of Rotrou's worth, bestowed upon him his daughter

[1] Robert II. was great-grandson, and Rotrou of Mortain, grandson, of the great-grandson of William I. de Belèsme.

[2] Warin, eldest son of this William I., lord of Domfrout, Mortain, and Nogent, and viscount of Châteaudun, in right of his wife Melisende, had treacherously put to death Gunheir de Belèsme, a gallant and worthy soldier, who was unsuspiciously paying his compliments to him; for which foul deed he was, according to William de Jumièges (b. vi. c. 4), "strangled by a demon in the presence of his friends." These circumstances appear to have occurred about 1027.

[3] About 1033 or 1034. Walter le Sor appears to have been the ancestor of Adam le Sor, mentioned in vol. iii. p. 443, and note. M. Delisle considers this family to have no connexion with that of Soreng, referred to in William of Jumièges (b. vii. c. 14), as conjectured in the note.

Matilda[1] in marriage, and enriched him with lands and wealth in England.

CH. IV. *Second expedition of Count Rotrou and the French against the Moors in Spain—The Moors defeated in a general engagement by the allied forces of the French and Arragonese.*

THE Saracens, having learned the departure of the French, rallied their courage, and renewing their inroads on the territories of the Christians, manifested their strength by cruel massacres, in which numbers perished. The Arragonese, oppressed by their enemy, and ashamed of their conduct [to Count Rotrou], again called in the aid of the French, and making them amends for their former ingratitude, promised, on oath, to bestow on them lands and honours. The count, therefore, dismissing from his mind their previous quarrels and the base treatment he had undergone, accepted the proposals of his friend and cousin, and gathering a large force from all quarters, led them boldly into the enemy's country, prepared to make war on the Pagans. Exulting in such powerful succour, the Spaniards received the French with great demonstrations of joy, and to make amends for their former wrongs, quartered them in their cities of Toledo,[2] Tudela, and Pampeluna, and other towns, heaping on them honours and possessions. But, impatient for action, the French assembled from their several stations in the beginning of summer, and, having driven the infidels out of the country of their allies by several bloody engagements, crossed the frontiers to make reprisals in the enemy's territory. By God's help they took ample vengeance for the losses and insults which they had suffered, and finding abundance of provisions and all other supplies in these districts, spent the winter there.

Then Rotrou, count of Mortain, with the French, the

[1] We have seen that this lady perished in the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef*, having been the means of her brother William, the young heir to the throne, sharing her fate.

[2] Toledo had been taken by Alfonso VI, king of Castille, in 1085, and it is not probable that the Navarrese could quarter their friends the French in a place belonging to another king. It has, therefore, been suggested, that for Toleto we should substitute Tolosa, or still better, Olito, in the Spanish Navarre.

bishop of Saragossa,[1] with the Knights-Palmers,[2] and Gaston de Bearn,[3] with the Gascons, fortified Pencadel,[4] where there are two impregnable towers, and held it for six weeks. At length engaging with Amorgan,[5] king of Valencia, they marched on Xativa, but the Pagans retreated before they were attacked. The allied forces then retired, leaving a garrison of sixty soldiers in the fortress of Pencader. They were encountered on their march by a body of Almoravides and Andalusians,[6] sent from Africa by their king Ali, son of Justed,[7] who blockaded them in the castle of Serral during three days. The Christians having devoted these three days to penance for their sins, fasting and prayer, and invoking the name of God, gave battle to the enemy on the eighteenth of the calends of September [August 14th]. The engagement lasted all day; but their valour being strengthened by heavenly aid, after sunset victory crowned their arms,

[1] This city was taken by king Alfonso le Batailleur, December 18, 1118, after a former unsuccessful seige in 1114.

[2] According to Pierre de Marca (Histoire de Bearn vol. V. c. xxi. p. 416), the Knights-Palmers were an order similar to that of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, established at Mont-Real about 1120, by Gaston I. of Arragon, with the double view of securing the Christian frontier in that quarter, and preparing for the conquest of the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia. But Briz-Martinez conjectures, that the knights here mentioned belonged to the order of St. John de la Pena.

[3] Gaston IV., Viscount de Bearne, who, as we have seen, so gallantly distinguished himself in the crusade, entered Spain in 1114, and took the most active part in the two sieges of Saragossa. It was also in 1114, that Rotrou, released from the dungeon of Robert de Belêsme in 1113, returned to Spain.

[4] Perhaps Benicarlo, in the kingdom of Valencia.

[5] *Amorgan* probably answers to Meronan, a person mentioned some years afterwards as entrusted with the defence of Valencia.

[6] *Amoravii.* Properly speaking, the Almoravides were a dynasty of African princes, who founded Morocco, and at one period threatened to conquer the whole of Spain. The word *al-moravide* is Arabic; it is an alteration of *al-morabith*, and *morabith* signifies those who are animated with singular zeal for the triumph of the religion of Mahomet. The word *marabouth* is derived from the same source. In this place Ordericus means, by the "Amoravii," the Mussulmans of Africa subject to the Almoravine princes. As for the Andalusians of Africa, he means the Mussulmans settled in Spain. Andalusia, now only a province, included, at that time, all that part of Spain which had submitted to the laws of the Koran.

[7] Ali, son of Youssouf, or Joseph, was then the reigning prince of the Almoravides in Morocco.

although darkness coming on, they could not venture to risk the pursuit of the flying enemy for any great distance on roads with which they were unacquainted.

The day before the general engagement, Warin Sancho, a person of great merit, ascended the heights with the knights-palmers; and the Christians, combating in God's might, defeated King Alhamon,[1] who held the mountains at the head of one hundred and fifty-four thousand foot soldiers. Of this vast host countless numbers perished, either by the arms of their pursuers, or being driven over the precipices, by excessive fatigue and thirst, or other kinds of death. Thus fell the Africans who came to the support of the idolaters[2] in Spain; and sent to the shades below by the weapons of the Christians, suffer with their kings the torments of Hell. After this, some of the Normans and French made choice of suitable spots, and there settled and fixed their habitations. But Silvester de Saint-Calais,[3] and Reginald de Bailol,[4] with some others, returned to their native land, preferring their patrimonial estates to possessions in a foreign land.

[1] *Alamimum rex.* M. Reinaud conjectures that this person's name was Tamien, a brother of the prince of Morocco, to whom he had given the government of the provinces of the east of Spain under the yoke of the Almoravides. But it would rather appear that the name in the text is Al-Hamon Latinized. A race of princes of this name long flourished as caliphs of Cordova.

[2] We have had frequent reason to remark how ill acquainted the writers of the middle ages generally were with even the first principles of the Mahometan religion: anyhow, idolatry was the last thing one should have expected to find imputed to them. Ordericus, in common with the other chroniclers, generally calls them pagans, or gentiles (heathens). Once or twice only he uses the more proper term, infidels.

[3] Not the Calais with which we are best acquainted, but a little town on the Sarthe, N.W. of Orleans.

[4] Reginald de Bailleul-en-Gouffern, who married Aimerie, niece of Roger de Montgomery, and appears among the witnesses to the charter of foundation of the Abbey of Shrewsbury. In some copies of Domesday-book, this Reginald's name follows that of Ricardus Forestarius (Richard Forester), as *tenant-in-capite* of four lordships in the county of Stafford. The name is there spelt "Bailgiole," or "Balgiole."

CH. V. *Robert Burdet is made prince of Tarragona, by Archbishop Oldegaire—Rebuilds the ruined city—Prowess of his wife Sibylla.*

AT this time, Robert de Culie,[1] surnamed Burdet,[2] a Norman knight, resolved on settling in Spain, and retired to a city called, in old records, Tarragona. It was there that, as we read, the holy martyrs of Christ, Fructuosus, bishop, and Augulus and Eulogius, deacons,[3] suffered in the time of the emperor Galienus. Having been first thrust into prison, on being exposed to the flames, when their bonds were consumed, extending their hands in the form of a cross, they prayed to be burnt to death, and their prayer was granted. These martyrs were celebrated in a poem composed by Aurelius Clemens Prudentius,[4] inserted in his *Book of Martyrs*, wherein he describes their triumphant struggle in beautiful verses. Tarragona was the seat of a metropolitan, and

[1] There are four communes in Normandy which bore this name. Probably this Culie is that which was afterwards called Rabandages, in the canton of Putanges, as, the church of that place belonging to St. Evroult, our author might have better opportunities of being acquainted with its inhabitants, and taken more interest in them.

[2] In 1077, we find a person of the name of Robert Burdet in a charter preserved in the *Monastic. Anglic.*, i. p. 562, as a witness with Ives de Grantmesnil, to a deed of Geoffrey de Wirce in 1077. It also appears in a charter, of the same year, in favour of the abbey of Angers. He is probably the father of the Robert Burdet mentioned in the text. His name does not appear in Domesday-book, but we find that of his wife and son, as *mesne-tenants* in Leicestershire. Lowesby, in that county, was the chief seat of the family in England, of which Hugh de Burdet, who accompanied the Conqueror, is supposed to have been the founder; but the connecting link between him and Sir Robert of Culie is lost.

[3] St. Fructuosus, the first bishop of Tarragona on record, with SS. Augulus and Eulogius, deacons, were given to the flames in that city, January 21, 259.

[4] Aurelius Prudentius *Clemens*, for that is the proper arrangement (although the second is generally known as his proper name, as our author considers it), was a Christian poet of the fourth century. He is supposed to have been born at Saragossa; and, among the martyrs whose praises he celebrates with much enthusiasm, those of the province of Tarragona are particularly distinguished. The sixth hymn in the collection, in his book Περιστέφανῶν, "on the crowns" (of martyrs) here mentioned, is devoted to St. Fructuosus, and his fellow martyrs.

Odelric,[1] an aged and very learned prelate, filled the archbishopric, and exercised the functions of his office in the villages and bourgs belonging to his diocese. For, as to the cathedral church, it was overgrown with oaks, beeches, and other tall trees which had sprung up in it, and also overspread the whole site of the city within the walls, from ancient times; the people by whom it was formerly inhabited having been either butchered or driven away by the cruelties of the Saracens. Now Robert Burdet, at the suggestion of the archbishop, undertook a journey to Pope Honorius,[2] and, laying his proposals before him, received from the

[1] Oldegaire, bishop of Barcelona in 1116, by a grant of the count of that city, dated January 23, 1117, joined to it the archbishopric of Tarragona, as well as the bishopric of Tortosa; which were confirmed to him by a bull of Pope Gelasius, bearing date March 21, 1118, founded on the count of Barcelona having already recovered at least the first of these two cities, where, the crescent having long triumphed over the cross, the archbishop found things in that state so graphically described by Ordericus in the text. Oldegaire, being a strong partizan of Innocent II., accompanied him, in 1130, to the council of Clermont, and to Étampes, Rouen, Beauvais, and Rheims, where another council was held. He rebuilt the cathedral of Tarragona, and introduced the Knights-Templars into Catalonia; and died, in the odour of sanctity, March 6, 1137. Our author has described his person and character in his account of the council of Rheims. See before, pp. 16, 17, and the note.

[2] Pope Honorius, December 21, 1124—February 14, 1130. It appears, from a charter preserved by the Bollandists, that Robert Burdet received the principality of Tarragona directly from the archbishop himself, and not from the pope; though it is very probable that he went to Rome, as our author relates, and obtained the pope's confirmation of it, as was usual in those times. The fragment of history and documents connected with the transaction between St. Oldegaire and Robert Burdet, whom both Normandy and England may claim as one of her enterprising sons, are so curious, that we have thought it right to translate them. We find them in the Bollandists, March 1, 490.

"Moreover, it was now the tenth year since the holy bishop Oldegaire, (archbishop of Tarragona) had cherished the design of rebuilding Tarragona, and he pushed forward the works as far as his means, and the state of public affairs, of which we have spoken, admitted. But this great undertaking proceeded more slowly than accorded with the general desire, and his own in particular, because the barbarians held possession of the neighbourhood, and left nothing secure in the country of the Tarragonese. The archbishop, therefore, looked about him for some man of deep experience, in whose person he might provide a protector for the church, and a lord for the city, who would defend the one and the other by his power and arms, and care for their temporal interests as if they were his own. In consequence, he cast his eyes on a noble and wealthy knight,

pope's gift the county of Tarragona, to hold free from all secular exactions; and on his return, gathering about him a band of his own countrymen, he has held it and resisted the

Robert of the North, alias Bordet, with whom he made a convention in the following terms:—

"'*Oldegaire, by the grace of God, steward of the metropolis of Tarragona, to all the faithful in Christ.* Be it known unto all men, that the illustrious count and marquis of Barcelona and Provence, hath, for the love of God, given and granted, by his letters patent, to God and the church of Tarragona, which is the chief of the churches of all Hither-Spain, the city of Tarragona to be rebuilt by us, and truly held, possessed, and administered, according to our will and pleasure, as in the said instrument in writing granted to us more fully appears. So also, the Roman popes, Gelasius and Calixtus, of blessed memory, in conferring upon us, in their goodness, the metropolitan dignity, have further, in their bulls, confirmed the said grant of the count. We, therefore, trusting in the divine mercy, in order to further the restoration of the said city, to the honour of God and his church, with the advice and consent of the aforesaid Count Raymond, and our suffragan bishops and temporal lords, and more especially at the instance of the lord Raymond, bishop of Ausona, have appointed you, Robert, a reverend man, a brave knight, and a sworn vassal of the said church, to be prince of the before-named city. All this is set before you, that you may there always serve God and his church, and bear arms in defence of Christianity. Wherefore we, having regard to the honour of God and the church of Tarragona, and reserving the fealty due to us and our successors, do give and grant to you the aforesaid city, with the territory thereof, as described in the charter of the said count, to be rebuilt, held, and possessed by you and your heirs, and that you may order, govern, and administer justice to the liege-men who shall settle there, in equity and the fear of God, according to the laws and good customs which we shall there, by common consent, establish. We also grant you all the rents, tolls, and customary payments (*las calonias, peages, y usages*) belonging to the prince, both from the sea and the land.

"'But you and your successors, to whom we shall have granted this honour, to hold after your decease, shall have no liberty to give or alienate these things to any foreign power, nor to any person who shall not be a true and devoted vassal of our church, like yourself, We reserve, however, as our portion, and under our own dominion, all churches and ecclesiastical possessions, and ecclesiastical persons; as well as our own households, with those of the clerks and monks, and all who farm the church lands, or live in houses and places belonging to the church. So that with respect to all these, no prince or other inferior person, being a layman, shall presume to adjudge, exact, distrain, or order anything, at any time, without our command. We reserve also, out of all which we grant to you as such prince, all tithes arising from either the land or the sea, namely, of houses, farms, castles and forts, and other possessions which now are, or shall be hereafter, within the said principality; as also the tithes of the fruits of the earth, of animals and fishes, meadows and

Pagans to the present day. Meanwhile, during his journey to Rome and return through Normandy, where he went to muster his adherents, Tarragona was left to the custody of his wife Sibylla, daughter of William la Chèvre,[1] who was

pastures, and of all the rents accruing to you as prince under our grant of the said principality.

"'I Robert, your liege-man, in consideration of all these rights and privileges, granted to me by your liberality, do for my part covenant and promise to God and the church of Tarragona, and to you, my lord Oldegaire, the archbishop, that henceforth and for ever I will do fealty, without fraud or covin, in your own person, and for all the rights which the said church or you have, or ought to have, and which especially you reserve in the grant made to me; and all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and privileges which appertain to you, or ought to appertain. I also promise and agree that, according to the best of my power and ability, I will strive to restore the aforesaid city and all your territory, and put down by force of arms all men who shall attempt to take away or diminish the just rights and privileges of the church, or yours, or those of the city, and that I will maintain justice as you have before appointed in these presents. Wherefore, if any person, ecclesiastical or temporal, shall hereafter contravene this record of your suzerainty and my covenant, let him make a composition to the party injury of thirty gold livres; and thenceforth this instrument shall remain in force against him. Done in the year of our Lord 1128, the day before the ides of May (14th of May).

"'Oldegaire, archbishop of Taragona.
"'+ The mark of Robert, the prince.
"'Raymond, bishop of Ausona.
"'+ The mark of Arnauld, priest and dean.

"I Robert, prince of Tarragona, do swear to you, my lord Oldegaire, archbishop of the said city, that now and henceforth I will be a true and faithful liege-man to you and your church, and will perform and execute all the covenants I have made with you, as they are written between you and me, without fraud or covin. And if, which God forbid, I shall make default in any of these, through negligence, I will give you due satisfaction within thirty days after I shall receive warning. All this I swear on the four gospels.'"

"Clothed with this authority," says Dominick, "Robert lost no time in repairing the walls, encouraging the citizens, allotting the fields among them, repelling the enemy, and protecting the borders of the territory. The succession to the principality, after Robert's death, did not continue further than his son William d'Aguillon; for he, having sacrilegiously laid hands on the most holy Hugh de Cervellon, archbishop of Tarragona, and put him to death, [Dominick, in his life of this Hugh, says that he was assisted by his brothers, and that the murder was committed on April 22, 1171.] was excommunicated by Pope Alexander III., and, being deposed from his principality of Tarragona, ended his days in great misery."

[1] This William la Chèvre (*Gulielmus Caprœ*) was one of the commis-

not less distinguished for courage than for beauty. For while her husband was away, her watchfulness was unceasing; every night she put on the coat of mail of a man-at-arms, and taking a staff in her hand, mounted to the battlements, and going the rounds of the city walls, kept the sentries on the alert, giving them strict charge, and cautioning them to be on the look out against any stratagems of the enemy. Praiseworthy conduct in so young a lady, thus to do her husband's behests with true faith and constant love, while she piously governed the people of God with ever-watchful care!

Ch. VI. *King Alfonso's expedition to Cordova—He is joined by the Mosarabian Christians—Persecution of the Saracens.*

In the year of our Lord 1125, when Count Rotrou returned from France with his own retainers and auxiliary troops, the king of Arragon taking umbrage at the brilliant achievements of the French against the Pagans in Spain, wherein he bore no share, and seeking renown for himself, assembled proudly a large army of his own people. Marching through distant parts of the country as far as Cordova, he halted there with his forces during six weeks, and struck the inhabitants with great terror; for they supposed that the French were acting with the Spaniards. Meanwhile, the Saracens lurked in their strongholds, suffering their herds and cattle of all kinds to wander at large over the country. None of them ventured to sally forth from the castles against the Christians, while their bands pillaged at will all they found outside the fortified places, and cruelly devastated the whole province.

Then the Mosarabians[1] assembled to the number of nearly

sioners sent by King William Rufus, in 1096, to hold pleas of the crown in Devonshire and Cornwall. We also find his name, with that of another of his family, to the charter of foundation of the priory of Montacute, by William, count of Mortain (earl of Morton).

[1] *Muceravii.* The French editors of Ordericus consider, against the authority of Ducange, that this word here signifies the Mosarabian Christians, who had preserved the faith of their fathers under the yoke of the Arabs, and followed the Gothic ritual. The Arabian historians apply the term *muahid* to the Christians who, on the present occasion, joined Alfonso. The word which signifies *allied,* is explained by M. Renaud in his *Invasions des Sarasins en France.*

two thousand, and came as suppliants to King Alfonso. "We," they said, "and our forefathers have hitherto been brought up among the Gentiles to this present day, and being baptized, we gladly follow the Christian laws; but we have never been able to acquire a perfect knowledge of the doctrines of our holy religion. Our subjection to the Infidels, under whose oppressive government we long groaned, prevented our venturing to call in teachers from Rome or France,[1] nor would such instructors have come to us, by reason of the barbarity of the Pagans, our former masters. But now, rejoicing greatly that you are come among us, we wish to quit our native soil, and migrate with you, carrying with us our wives and all our effects." The king granted the petition of the Mosarabians, and in conequence vast multitudes of them left their country, exiling themselves in toil and indigence for their love of the divine law.

The Arragonese, on their march homeward, found the whole country ravaged and laid waste, so that they suffered grievously from want and hunger before they reached their own homes. Moreover, the people of Cordova and the other Saracens were much enraged at seeing the Mosarabians depart with their families and goods. They therefore rose, by common agreement, against those who were left behind, brutally stripped them of all their property, and loaded them with fetters and all sorts of injuries. Many they put to death with horrid tortures, and banished all the rest over the sea to Africa, condemning them to a cruel exile, inspired by hatred of the Christians, in whose company great part of the Mosarabians had quitted the country.

CH. VII. *Quarrel between Alfonso, king of Arragon, and his wife Uraca, queen of Léon and Castile—Succession of her son Alfonso Raymond.*

KING ALFONSO,[2] on his return to his dominions, found himself involved in many severe difficulties, both public and private. His wife Uraca, the daughter of Alfonso the elder,

[1] The Mosarabian Christians had in the course of time lost the use of the Latin language. It is, therefore, no wonder that French and Italian preachers were no longer in vogue among them.

[2] *Hildefonsus Rex.*

king of Gallicia,[1] listening to the counsels and instigations of the Gallicians, rebelled against her husband, and attempting his life, both by poison and the sword, brought calamity on numbers of people. At length, the Gallicians, seeing the violent dissensions betwen the husband and wife, and failing by any persuasions to restore a becoming amity between them, chose for their king Peter Alfonso, the son of Raymond, a French count, by a daughter of Alfonso the Great; and to this day have manfully defended the liberties of the state under this prince, whom they call their *Little King*.[2] Sharp hostilities long prevailed betwen the two kings, much to the loss of their subjects, the queen Uraca harrassing her husband by all the means in her power, and favoured her nephew, who ruled the patrimonial states. At last, by God's judgment, after causing much bloodshed, she died, like Egla, David's wife, of a difficult childbirth.[3] On her death, the belligerent kings united together in peace and amity, turning their warlike zeal with one accord against the gentiles.

CH. VIII. *Alfonso of Arragon besieges Mequinenza and Fraga—A general engagement with the Saracens—Reinforced by Robert Burdet, he defeats them.*

IN the year of our Lord 1133, the eleventh indiction, Alfonso, king of Arragon, assembled an army against the

[1] Uraca, or Urraque, was not the daughter of a king of Gallicia, but of Alfonso VI., king of Léon and Castile, and the widow of Raymond, son of William the Great, count of Burgundy. Her first husband died in 1090, and Alfonso married her in 1109, but soon repudiated her on account of her haughty and dissolute conduct. Her partisans were defeated in battle by Alfonso on the 26th of October, 1111; but she maintained herself in the states of her father, the kingdoms of Léon and Castile, through good and evil, until her death, in March, 1126.

[2] Alfonso-Raymond, the eighth of the name of Alfonso, reckoning his father-in-law, was born 1106; proclaimed king of Léon as soon as his mother died; married in 1128 Donna Berengaria, daughter of Raymond Berenger III., count of Barcelona; made many conquests from the Moors; was proclaimed emperor of Spain in 1135; and survived until the 21st of August, 1157. Our author represents him as the nephew of his mother.

[3] This princess, whose first marriage took place in 1090, could scarcely have died in child-birth thirty-six years afterwards. We know not where our author learnt that Eglah, David's wife, died in child-birth, for neither the second Book of Kings nor the first of Chronicles, contain any such information.

Pagans and laid siege to Mæschinaz,[1] a place of the greatest strength and very rich. The possessors glorying in their wealth, their abundant stores of provisions, and, as they supposed, in the impregnable position of their fortress, he sent them a message that if they would surrender the place they should depart unmolested, and take with them all their effects; but they made a stout resistance, treating his promises and threats alike with contempt. The valorous king therefore pressed the siege closely for three weeks, and carried by assault the exterior defences of the place. Thereupon, those who held the castle, becoming terrified, offered to give up the interior fortifications, on condition of being allowed to depart free with all their effects. But the enraged king gave them this reply: "What ye now ask I voluntarily offered you at first, but ye rejected it, making light of the power of Christ and the valour and faith of Christians. Therefore now I swear by my head that ye shall not go forth hence but with the loss of your lives." He then commanded his troops to erect the engines which had been constructed, and make strong assaults on the place. By this means they took the castle, and cutting off the heads of all the Gentiles, struck great terror among the neighbours.

The victorious king then marched his army on the city of Fraga,[2] and besieged it for a whole year. The citizens sent envoys to Africa, and entreated King Ali to send them relief; whereupon he caused ten thousand Almoravides to cross the straits, and, on their arrival in Spain, four of their chiefs were deputed to require the king of Arragon to raise the siege of the city without delay. The king immediately commanded the holy relics to be brought to him from his chapel; on which he swore, in the presence of all, that he would not abandon the siege until either the city surrendered, or he himself perished, or was defeated and forced to fly. He also caused twenty of his nobles to take the same oath.

The envoys returning, communicated this intelligence to the Almoravides, who immediately assembled all their countrymen and prepared for war. Then the whole Gentile

[1] Mequinenza?

[2] Fraga lies twenty miles S.E. of Saragossa.

force was ranged in order of battle against the king's army, and began the engagement with much impetuosity. The king having foreseen that a great battle was imminent, had sent round his couriers in great haste with earnest entreaties to all his allies and neighbours to come to his aid. Meanwhile, he skilfully withdrew his own troops and posted them on a neighbouring hill; where he held his position, and during three days and nights repelled the attacks of the Almoravides. But Robert, surnamed Burdet, count of Tarragona, and other Christians, having received reports of the attack on the king, got to arms with the utmost expedition, and urging their horses to full speed, fell upon the Gentiles, shouting the name of "Jesus" for their war-cry; and, by this unexpected charge, overwhelmed, routed them, and put them to flight. Many prisoners were taken, more of the enemy were slain, and, loaded with spoil the conquerors offered thanksgivings to the God of victory.

But in this changeable world no mortal power has long endurance, and in the righteous judgment of God adversity soon treads on the heels of success. So it happened that the townsmen of Fraga, which the king had besieged, a place famous for being the refuge of all miscreants, whether gentiles or pseudo-christians, began to dread the wrath and invincible enterprises of so magnaminious a king and of the christian army whose warriors were signed with the cross and endued with indomitable valour; they therefore made proposals for peace to the king and offered him their submission on certain conditions. The king however obstinately rejected all their offers, treating with disdain their proposal of a yearly tribute, and threatened with an oath that he would renew the siege and carry the place by assault. On hearing this, the Saracens were driven by dire despair to energetic counsels, and they again sent envoys to Ali king of Africa, and urgently implored succour from other gentile kings and princes in this season of extreme peril.

CH. IX. *Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, dies at Cardiff.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1134, the twelfth indiction, Robert II. duke of Normandy died at Cardiff in Britain,[2]

[1] See before, book xii. c. 46, p. 96.

Robert Curthose was nearly eighty years old at the time of his death,

in the month of February, twenty-eight years after he had been taken prisoner at Tinchebrai and immured in his brother's dungeon. He lies buried in the abbey of the monks of St. Peter at Gloucester.

CH. X. *Alfonso, king of Arragon and the allied Christian forces fight a great battle with the Saracens near Fraga on the Ebro—Alfonso is defeated, and dies soon afterwards.*

THEN Buchar Ali,[1] son of the king of Morocco assembled a large force of warriors from all parts, and crossed over to

having been born about 1054. According to the Chronicle of Tours, his parents were married in 1053; and we find, in the valuable chartulary of La Trinité du Mont, a charter of William Vernon, with the subscription of the Duchess Matilda, bearing the date of 1053.

In a charter of Odo le Monétaire, son of Humphrey, the duke's cook, about the year 1060, we find the names of *Raturius, consiliarius infantis, et Tetbold grammaticus*, who probably taught him to read. A little later, in a charter of William the Conqueror in favour of St. Ouen, appears *Hilgerius, magister pueri*. The art of reading was not much in vogue at this time. We have already seen, that Henry I., the scholar of the family, notwithstanding his surname of Beauclerc, could not read aloud, that is fluently, for any length of time. William de Poitiers thought he was saying a good deal when he remarks that Archbishop Mauger *scripturarum arcana intelligentiæ literalis oculo colligere non indoctus fuit.*

In a charter of William the Conqueror, in favour of St. Ouen, dated in 1063, relating to Criquebœuf-sur-Seine, we find the subscription of Robert after his parents. After stating their consent, the instrument proceeds: *et Roberti, eorum filii, quem elegerant ad gubernandum regnum post suum obitum.* It should be observed that he had already two brothers, Richard and William.

In 1064, in anticipation of his marriage with Margaret of Maine, he was proclaimed count de Maine, under which title he is described in the charter of the collegiate church of Cherbourg: *et Robertus comes Cenomannis.* "Robert was a ripe youth at the time of the conquest; of tried courage, though short in stature and inclined to be fat; . . . 'by the resurrection of God, Robelin Curthose will be a brave youth,' said his father; for he had that surname from being short."

[1] Buchar, son of Ali, is Abon-Omar-Taschefin, son of the prince of Marocco. He succeeded his father in 1143. The Arab historian, Ibn-al-Atir, should be compared with the narrative of Ordericus. The MS. is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, No. 740, under the year 529 of the Hegira, A.D. 1135. M. Reinaud has supplied a translation of the passage, extracted from the Arabian author:—

"The son of Ramirus (Alphonso) having laid siege to the city of Fraga, the emir Taschefin, son of Ali, who happened to be at that time at Cordova, dispatched the governor of the city, Alzobeyr, son of Omar Allamthouny, with two thousand cavalry. The emir of Murcia and

Spain to fight against the Christians. Alhamon of Cordova, Alcharias of Dalmaria, and other emirs of Lybia and Spain, joined him with many thousand troops, and they had recourse to stratagem in disposing their troops for battle. The allied forces marched to the relief of Fraga, divided into five bodies. The first division led a convoy of two hundred camels, laden with provisions and a variety of of necessaries, intended to throw relief into the besieged city, and tempt the indigent and greedy Christians to attack the van for the sake of plunder. Meanwhile, the other divisions were placed in ambush at a considerable distance, cautiously watching for an opportunity of falling on the enemy when in pursuit of the fugitives.

Fraga stands at the confluence of two rivers, the Ségre which flows from Lerida, and the Ebro from Saragossa.[1] It was on the field called the Field of Mourning, between the two rivers, that a sanguinary battle was fought in the month of July. King Alfonso perceiving the vast host of Gentiles who were drawn up against him, assembled the chiefs of the Christian army and roused them by noble words to do battle gloriously; for Bertrand de Léon, count of Carrion; Roderick of Asturia; Aimeri de Narbonne; Centule son of Gaston de Bearne, Garsio Adramis, and many other valiant lords were in the battle on the Field of Mourning[2].

Valencia, Yahya, son of Ganya, also put himself in motion, with five hundred horsemen, in concert with Abdallah, son of Eyadh, prince of Lerida, who was followed by two hundred horse. The son of Ramirus was at the head of a force of twelve thousand cavalry, and confident of success. But in the encounter which followed, the Christians were put to the rout, and the garrison of Fraga took advantage of it to seize their camp. The son of Ramirus fled to Saragossa, where he died a few days afterwards." Such is the Arabian account of the action, which, though true in the main, is far from doing the justice to the Christians rendered by the very circumstantial narrative of Ordericus.

[1] Our author is mistaken in placing at Fraga the confluence of the Ebro, coming from Saragossa, and the Ségre, coming from Lerida. They unite at a place called on the maps, Scarpe. It is difficult to believe that the battle was fought between two rapid rivers, the Ebro and the Ségre. The probability is, that the engagement took place on the banks of the one or the other.

[2] *Campo Dolenti.* This phrase is used by our author as equivalent for "The Field of Battle," by which name the spot is still known. Many other places might be mentioned which retain the designation given in the text, especially one near Dol. The reader will recollect that the field of

As soon as king Alfonso perceived the foremost troops which conducted the camels laden with provisions, he gave orders to Count Bertrand to begin the battle by attacking them; but Bertrand replied: "Lord king, let us suffer this division to march by, that on their gaining the city, we may be better prepared to fall on them as they return encumbered with booty, and hold our troops in reserve against any stratagem of the enemy; meanwhile, let us wait for the rest of the enemy's force, which is coming up, and be ready to engage them." The king was irritated by this suggestion, and cried aloud: "Where is your courage, noble count? Till this moment I never found any cowardice in you." This word brought the blood into the face of the dauntless count, and he led his men in a fierce charge on the Gentiles, who gave way at the first onset, and manœuvred a retreat on the immense mass of the army in their rear. These powerful columns then advanced on the Christian troops, and in their fierce attacks, Bertrand, Aimeri, Roderick, and Centule[1] were slaughtered, with many thousands of their followers. The king prolonged the battle for sometime, with the relics of his army posted on a hill, where, surrounded by the overwhelming force of the enemy, he lost nearly all his men, and was resolved himself to fight for Christ even to the death. Seeing this, the bishop of Urgel[2] insisted on his quitting the field; but the king, in utter despair at the destruction of his army, refused. Then the bishop said: "By the authority of Almighty God, I command you instantly to retire from this field, lest if you should fall, the whole territory belonging to the Christians should be subjugated by the pagans, and a general massacre of all the Christian inhabitants ensue." At last, compelled by the bishop's injunction, king Alfonso consented to obey his command, but surrounded as he was by countless thousands of the pagan host, it was difficult to find a way of escape. At last, sword in hand, and followed by sixty men-at-arms, all who were left to struggle along with him, he cut his way through the enemy's ranks where they were thinnest,

Tinchebrai is called by our author *Campus Famelicus*, probably from an accidental circumstance mentioned in our note on that event.

[1] Aimeri II., viscount of Narbonne, fell in this battle, as well as Centule V., viscount of Bearne, son of Gaston IV.

[2] Urgel, on the Ségre, thirty miles from Barcelona.

and got away with ten of his followers, leaving the rest of his sixty comrades, and the bishop, dead on the field. Such an issue of the war was a great triumph to the Gentiles and a severe affliction to the Christians.

While the king was retiring in deep sorrow to join his friends, he met the men of Saragossa and the French, with others of the faithful, hastening to take part in the battle. Having learnt the sad disaster, they were overwhelmed with distress; but on seeing the king, they tried to take comfort, and voluntarily placed themselves under his command. On his part, foaming with indignation and full of grief, he had only one wish, which he prayed fervently to the Lord to grant, that he might take vengeance on the Pagans before he died. In pursuance of this, he led the Christian troops to the seacoast through byeways, and finding there a large body of the Saracens loaded with booty and driving a crowd of Christian captives, with which spoils of victory they were freighting their ships, he made a sudden onslaught on them, when they little expected it, and putting a great number to the sword, somewhat assuaged his furious wrath. There was found there a ship laden with the heads of Christians, which King Buchar was sending to his father the king of Africa as a trophy of his victory. In the empty pride of his vain-glorious spirit, he was also embarking, for the same purpose, seven hundred captives and brilliant tokens of the spoils he had gained.

But, as we have already said, King Alfonso, by God's permission, suddenly fell on the Saracens with tremendous slaughter, and recovering the heads of his slain comrades, committed them to the church of God to be honourably interred. Meanwhile, the captives who already lay bound in the ships, hearing the cry of battle lifted their eyes, and beholding what they had not ventured even to hope, their hearts overflowed with joy. Resuming their courage, their spirits were roused to the highest pitch, and while the Christians on shore were fighting with the Saracens, they struck off each other's fetters, and leaping from the prows flew to the assistance of their friends, seizing the arms of the Gentiles who had fallen, and turning them against those who yet survived. Thus the triumph of the Pagans was succeeded by grief, and the Christian army blessed God in all his works.

The valiant King Alfonso, worn out with toil and trouble, soon afterwards fell sick, and taking to his bed breathed his last at the expiration of eight days.[1] As he left no son at his decease, his subjects were troubled for awhile, in the midst of the storms of war, about a successor. In the end they chose Remi,[2] a priest and monk, because he was the brother of Alfonso, and appointed him king. But the Navarrese elected for their king, Garsio,[3] who had been their governor.[4]

CH. XI. *The pope and anti-pope—Peter Anaclete in Italy, Gregory Innocent in France and the West—Gregory is received by Henry I. at Chartres.*

THE Roman church having been distracted since the death of Pope Honorius by the disputes of two princes contending for the papacy, great troubles and dissentions sprung up throughout the world. In most of the convents there were two abbots, and in several dioceses two bishops claimed the episcopal rights, one of whom adhered to Peter Anaclete, the other was a partisan of Gregory Innocent. In such a schism every one was in apprehension of the sentence of excommunication, and it was difficult to escape it, while one fulminated against the other, fiercely denouncing his opponent and those who supported him. Thus, each of them was at a loss what to do, but found it impossible to take any effective course; and there was nothing left for him but to imprecate the curse of God on his rival. Peter, indeed, through the power of his brother and relations, obtained possession of the city, and having

[1] The battle was fought on the 17th of July, and the king died some days afterwards.

[2] Ramirus II., Alfonso's brother. He was taken from his abbey of St. Pons-de-Tomières (Héraut) to be placed on the throne.

[3] Garcio-Ramirus IV., grandson of Ramirus, the brother and murderer of Sancho IV., king of Navarre. His first wife was Margaret, supposed to have been a daughter of Count Rotrou, who died in the month of December, 1141.

[4] There is a blank in this place of a page and a half in the manuscript of St. Evroult; the author meaning, it would appear, to continue his narrative of events in Spain when he could obtain the details. This circumstance throws some light on the desultory manner in which he has sometimes used the mass of information which his industry accumulated from all quarters.

crowned Roger, duke of Apulia, as king of Sicily,[1] by his aid gained nearly the whole of Italy to his side. On the other hand, Gregory, having with him the Roman clergy, betook himself to France, where he was first received by the people of Arles; and from thence he sent his legates among the French. The monks of Cluni, as soon as they were informed of his arrival, sent sixty horse or mule loads of all articles necessary for the service of the pope and the cardinals, and conducted him with great respect to their abbey. They entertained the pope and his attendants there for eleven days, and caused him to dedicate their new church in honour of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, with great rejoicings and a large concourse of people.[2]

Thus, Gregory obtained great authority among the nations of the west, because he was preferred to Peter Anaclete by the monks of Cluni; for Peter had been brought up among them in his younger days, and had become a monk of their own habit and rule.[3] But Gregory, being now favourably received as the father of fathers by the Cluniacs, and they ranking highest amongst the monks of our country, his pontifical dignity shone forth in France; and being thence acknowledged by the western princes and bishops, in a short space of time his power was greatly established; even Henry, king of England, humbly knelt at his feet in the city of Chartres, and voluntarily paid him the reverence due to the papal dignity on the ides [13th] of January; and with royal munificence made large presents to the Roman clergy.[4]

[1] Our author has now returned, after a long digression, to the sequel of the history of the pope and anti-pope. Anaclete did not crown Roger II.; but, by a bull dated September 27, 1130, he gave him the title of king of Sicily, with the suzerainty of the principality of Capua and the duchy of Naples. This prince caused himself to be crowned at Palermo the Christmas day following, and not content with these titles, assumed, during a long period, that of king of Italy.

[2] The church of Cluni, then administered by Peter the Venerable, was consecrated on the 25th of October, 1130.

[3] We may be therefore surprised at Peter de Leo's appearance at the council of Rheims "in splendid apparel;" (before, p. 12) as, being a monk of Cluni, he should have worn no other than the habit of his order.

[4] By a delicate compliment, for which the Jews in his dominions ought to have been much obliged to him, Henry made them joint contributors to St. Peter with himself and his nobility. *Non modo suis sed et optimatum, et etiam Judæorum, muneribus eum dignatus est.* The king entertained the

The pope sojourned three days in the house of the vidame Elisonde, to the great satisfaction both of the French and the Romans.[1]

During the whole of that year the pope travelled from place to place in France, causing most burdensome expenses to the churches in that country, for he was attended by the Roman officials as well as a numerous suite, and could draw nothing from the revenues of the apostolical see in Italy. He, also, had an interview with the emperor Lothaire, by whom he, with his attendants, were treated as a venerable master.[2] He appointed a council to be held at Rheims, in the month of October, to which he convoked all the bishops and abbots of the west.

CH. XII. *Death, from an accident, of Philip of France—Pope Innocent holds a council at Rheims—Crowns the king's son, Lewis-le-Jeune—Returns, by Cluni, to Italy.*

MEANWHILE, Philip the boy-king, who had been crowned two years before, by order of his father Lewis, king of France, a prince whose simplicity and suavity of manners made him esteemed by all who knew him, was thrown from his horse, as he was amusing himself by riding after an esquire in the streets of Paris, and so dreadfully fractured his limbs that he died on the day following.[3] Thus, the

pope at Rouen as well as at Chartres; but the visit to Rouen is not noticed by any of the local historians except William de Jumièges. William of Malmesbury mentions it.

[1] The Vidamess Helisende had been long a widow when she had the honour to receive King Henry I. in her house. Her husband, the Vidame Bartholomew Bodel, or Boel, and his son Gerard, appear in several charters in the chartulary of St. Peter's, the latest of which the date is given being in 1101. Her name appears as a witness in 1104, with that of Gerard, who uses his father's name, Boel, in other documents in the same collection. One of these instruments, bearing the date of 1132, is the act of another vidamess, *Elysabeth, vicedomina Carnoti*, and her son Henry. She was probably the widow of Bartholomew's successor, he having died, as we have seen, in 1104.

[2] At the council of Liege, on the 22nd of March, 1134.

[3] We have already spoken of the accident which ended the days of this young prince. He was born the 29th of August, 1116; crowned at Rheims on Easter-day, April 14, 1129; and died at Paris in consequence of his horse falling, on the 13th of October, 1131. He was buried at Saint-Denis, on the left of the choir, by the side of the queen, Constance of Castile.

prince expired in the presence of his father and mother, without confession and without the viaticum, on the ides [13th] of October; and he was interred amongst the kings of France.

On the Sunday following, the pope dedicated the church of St. Médard, the bishop, at Soissons,[1] from whence he journeyed to Rheims to attend the council, remaining there nearly fifteen days engaged in discussing the causes of many persons of the highest rank.[2] There were present thirteen archbishops, and two hundred and sixty-three bishops, with a great number of abbots and monks. The king and queen of France and all the French nobility attended him there; and, through Reynold archbishop of Rheims, preferred a petition to the assembled council that the young prince Lewis should be crowned as king in place of his brother Philip. The king's son was, therefore, crowned by Pope Innocent on the eighth of the calends of November [October 25th];[3] but this coronation displeased many of the French belonging to both orders in the state. There were those among the laity who had hoped for advancement after the death of the prince; and some of the clergy claimed a right of electing and raising to the throne the chief of the realm. For these reasons, certain persons muttered about the boy's being consecrated, and would, there is no doubt, have used their utmost efforts to prevent it, if they had possessed the power.

King Lewis, perceiving that this novel ceremony had given rise to unusual pretensions in his states, was incensed against those who attempted to raise obstacles to his son's elevation to the royal dignity, and desired to visit them with mortal vengeance. Hence, occasion was taken by malevolent persons to commit horrible crimes with impunity, to the cruel destruction, alas! of some, and the sorrow of others, who were fervent in the love of God and their neighbours. Thus, when the aged John, bishop of Orleans, had given up his bishopric, Hugh, the dean, who had been elected in his

[1] The consecration appears to have been solemnized on the 15th of October, and not the 18th, as Ordericus states.

[2] This council of Rheims opened on the 18th of October.

[3] In fact, Louis le Jeune, born in 1120, was crowned on Sunday, October 25, 1131.

place, was murdered on the road by daring assassins; and the see being left without a bishop, was long in a perturbed state, like a ship at sea without a pilot.[1]

At the same time, also, Thomas, a canon of St. Victor, a man of great weight, was assassinated in the presence of Stephen, bishop of Paris, a spectacle which he beheld with unspeakable grief.[2] Such was the mad rage of his murderers, that they neither paid any reverence to the Creator of mankind, nor, for his sake, to the bishop, his faithful servant.

In the year of our Lord, 1132, the tenth indiction, Pope Innocent, after receiving great submission and kindness from the French, returned to Italy;[3] but, being repudiated by the Romans, he retired to Pisa,[4] a wealthy metropolis, where, for several years, he exercised the papal functions, issuing his decrees to all parts of the world.

Ch. XIII. *Stricter discipline introduced at the abbey of Cluni—Great gathering of monks there—The author present—Opposition to the new rules.*

At this time, the rules of monastic discipline began to be observed with increased vigour by the ecclesiastics, and canonical order gained a large measure of favour and strength, both in France and England. The zeal of the abbots led them to pass the bounds of moderation observed by their predecessors, adding severer rules to the ancient

[1] Our author is not very exact in this passage. In the first place, Hugh was not at this time dean of Orleans, but had been bishop of Laon since 1112: and, besides, it was not a dean, but the sub-dean Archembaud, who was the victim of this violence.

[2] Thomas, prior of St. Victor, was murdered on Sunday, the 20th of August, 1133, in the neighbourhood of Gournai-sur-Marne, as he was returning from a pastoral visit to the abbey of Chelles, in which he had been accompanied by Stephen, bishop of Paris.

[3] The pope again visited Cluni on his journey to Italy, and was received with the same generous hospitality as at first; but he gave great umbrage to the monks of this abbey by exempting the possessions of the Cistercians from payment of tithes, a privilege which he did not confer on the Cluniacs. Innocent celebrated the feast of Easter at Asti, in Piedmont, on the 10th of April, 1132.

[4] "Picenum;" which Ordericus has continually mistaken for Pisa, to which the pope retired; but not till 1133, after having entered Rome the same year at the end of April. He crowned the emperor Lothaire on the 4th of June; and this emperor brought him back to Rome in 1137.

institutions, and laying burdens, hard to be borne, on feeble shoulders.[1]

Peter, abbot of Cluni, now sent apparitors, carrying letters, to all the cells of that abbey, addressed to the priors of those cells, in England, Italy, and other countries, commanding them to be present at Cluni on the third Sunday in Lent,[2] in order to hear severer statutes of monastic discipline than they had hitherto observed. The priors obeyed the mandate of their arch-abbot, and, at the appointed time, two hundred of them were collected at Cluni. On that day one thousand two hundred and twelve brethren assembled there, and formed a procession, chanting psalms according to ecclesiastical rite; and with gladness of heart lifting their eyes to God, offered him their praises with devout hearts. This I well know, for I myself had the gratification of being present, and saw this glorious company congregated in the name of Jesus Christ, being one of the procession on the Sunday when they went from the abbey church of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, through the cloister into the chapel of St. Mary, the virgin mother, where I prayed.[3]

Afterwards, Ralph, bishop of Auxerre, Alberic, abbot of Vézelai, and Adelard, abbot of Melun, who were Cluniac monks, joined the meeting, and strengthened the hands of Abbot Peter by their presence and exhortations. His proposals were to increase the severity of the fasts observed by the members of his order, to take away their liberty of conversing together, and to deprive them of some comforts of the feeble body, which the mercy and moderation of the reverend fathers had hitherto allowed. The brethren, accustomed to implicit obedience to their superiors, and unwilling to offer any resistance which should be contrary to the monastic rule, accepted his rigorous statutes. But still they

[1] Our author does not appear to have approved of these excessive austerities, the object of which was to assimilate the Cluniac rule to that of the Cistercians.

[2] Sunday, the 20th of March, 1132.

[3] It is not probable that the whole of the vast body of monks who assisted in the imposing ceremonial described by Ordericus, were Cluniacs. He himself, as belonging to St. Evroult, was a Benedictine, and probably there were many other visitors of that order, from which the Cluniac was derived; St. Benedict being the common father of several orders, distinguished by some peculiarities in their rules.

set forth in a reasonable manner how that venerable Hugh and his predecessors, Maiolus and Odilo, maintained a severe course of discipline, and made it effectual to bring disciples to Christ. They also submitted with reverence and humility that it ought to be considered sufficient, if, treading in their steps, and running the way of the Lord's commandments with fulness of heart, they followed the precepts of those whose sanctity had been clearly demonstrated by the miracles wrought by them. But the rigid reformer, forgetting the precept of Solomon, "Remove not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set,"[1] and aiming to rival the Cistercians and others, who were fond of novelties, persisted in his rigorous course, and felt ashamed, at present, of relinquishing his design. In the end, however, he softened down, yielding to the opinions of his subjects, and remembering that discretion is the mother of virtues, had some compassion on human frailty, and relaxed several of the rigorous statutes which he had proposed.

CH. XIV. *The emperor Lothaire interferes between the pope and antipope—Richard, son of Robert earl of Gloucester, made bishop of Bayeux.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1133, the emperor Lothaire being implored, for the love of God, by the bishops and the rest of the faithful, laid siege to Rome, and tried to restore peace to the people of God, who, in the present schism wandered from unity either after Gregory or Peter. Lothaire, therefore, sent a message to Peter, requiring him either to give place to the other, or submit to a judicial inquiry into his ordination. Peter willingly accepted this proposal, and professed himself ready to abide the judgment of impartial persons in the presence of the emperor himself. Lothaire sent a similar message to Innocent, but he refused to come and support his cause unless he was received with all the honours due to the papacy. On learning this, the emperor was so indignant against Gregory that he gave up to Peter all that he had taken possession of, and at the end of seven weeks, retired from Rome, without having accomplished his purpose.[2]

[1] Prov. xxii. 28.

[2] It has been already observed, that this was precisely the year in which

The same year, Richard, bishop of Bayeux,[1] died in Easter week, and was succeeded, two years afterwards, by Richard, son of Robert earl of Gloucester, King Henry's son; Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, performing the consecration by order of Pope Innocent.[2] Then Richard de Beaufai, a chaplain of the honourable king, became bishop of Coutances, being consecrated by the same metropolitan.[3]

CH. XV. *Succession to the duchy of Burgundy—Affairs in Apulia and the south of Italy, and in Sicily.*

ABOUT this time there were great troubles in Apulia, to explain the origin of which it is necessary to recur to family history and past events. After the death of Roger the elder, count of Sicily, the son of Tancred de Hautivelle, his wife Adelais perceived that with her young son she could not govern his vast possessions, and in her anxiety about the state of affairs, she took serious counsel with herself and her friends what was to be done. Count Roger and his eleven brethren had conquered by their valour extensive provinces, and reduced the barbarians in Apulia and Sicily under the power of the Most High God. At last, the countess made a friendly alliance with Robert, the son of Robert, Duke of

the Emperor Lothaire brought back Pope Innocent to Rome, and was there crowned by him on the 4th of June. Our author must, therefore, have been misinformed as to the facts he here states.

[1] Richard II., son of Samson. It was after the death of this prelate that Henry employed his son Robert, earl of Gloucester, to take an inquisition of the fiefs dependent on the see of Bayeux, and the services under which they were held. Robert was himself the principal feudatory, and the standard-bearer of the bishop. He held of it twenty-five fiefs by knight-service, ten of which belonged to the honour of Évreci, according to his own declaration.

[2] Richard III., bishop of Bayeux, was son of Robert, earl of Gloucester, the bastard son of Henry I. It is most probable that Richard was also a natural son of the earl; for it was not until two years afterwards, and by the express order of the pope, that the archbishop of Rouen, who had hesitated on account of his illegitimacy, resolved on giving him consecration.

[3] This person, appointed in 1134, and consecrated in 1135, belonged to the family of Beaufou (Calvados), of whom the first who is known, Richard, was son-in-law of Robert, count d'Ivri, and brother-in-law of the steward, Osborne de Crépon, surnamed the Pacific. We suppose that the bishop of Avranches was grandson of this first Richard, through Robert or Humphrey, his two sons. In fact, the continuator of William de Jumièges mentions a Richard, son of Robert, but he describes him as a monk of Bec,

Burgundy, giving him her daughter in marriage with the whole principality of Sicily.[1]

His father Robert was a son of Robert king of France by his queen Constance, so that he derived his nobility from the blood of kings and emperors; and he much distinguished himself in different countries, by his noble deeds and great merits. He it was who was sought by his powerful mother to be raised to the throne of France, in preference to his elder brother Henry; an object which she used all possible means to effect. In the end, justice having placed the sceptre in the hand of Henry, the right heir, Robert held for a long period the duchy of Burgundy, and had three sons, Henry, Robert, and Simon. Henry the eldest, by the duke's command married a wife who bore him three sons, Hugh, Odo, and Robert, bishop of Langres.[2] Henry died in the lifetime of his father, who lived many years afterwards, and in his old age, set aside his grandsons, in favour of his [own younger] sons, to whom he made over the duchy, enjoining all his lords to be faithful subjects of his sons. The young Hugh, hearing this, kept silence, patiently waiting for a favourable opportunity of asserting his rights. He, however, placed his sure trust in the Lord, and said privately to those who lived with him: "The just God who has removed my father from the world will not deprive his offspring of their inheritance." On the duke's decease, he summoned about him all the officials and barons, and gave orders, with the air of a master, to the grooms of the palace to deck the hall in princely style for himself and the nobles. The servants were suprised at an order issued with such authority by a mere youth; but they were too much awed to venture on disobedience to his commands, and hastened to put the palace at Dijon in splendid order for the reception of the new duke. Thus the reso-

[1] Our author now carries us back more than thirty years. It was after 1101, that the countess of Sicily, Adelaide or Adelaise, invited to Sicily a Burgundian lord, whose name was Robert, and gave him, with the hand of her *niece*, the government of the country during the minority of Roger II. This nobleman, little known in France, passes, according to what our author says, for having been the second son of Duke Robert I., called the elder, who died in 1175, after Henry I., his eldest son.

[2] Our author omits Henry, who became count of Portugal in 1095, by his marriage with Theresa, natural daughter of Alfonso VI., king of Léon and Castile. From this alliance the reigning house of Portugal is sprung.

lute youth obtained possession of the states of his ancestors without drawing the sword, or the effusion of blood; and his uncles Robert and Simon going into exile, he governed with honour the inheritance of his fathers during three years. His administration was exemplary for its justice, and he was beloved by the gentle and good; but his wrath was terrible as the thunderbolt to the lawless and irreligious.[1] At the end of the three years, he made a voluntary cession of the duchy to his brother Eudes, and inspired by the love of heaven quitted the world; and becoming a monk at Cluni, served God there gloriously for fifteen years. His brother Odo held the duchy of Burgundy for a long period, and marrying a daughter of William Tête-Hardie,[2] had a son named Hugo, afterwards duke, and a daughter named Hela, who by her first marriage with Bertrand, count of Tholouse, had Pons, count of Tripoli; and afterwards married William Talvac, to whom she bore Guy, count of Ponthieu, and a numerous offspring of both sexes.[3]

Robert of Burgundy, having married, as already mentioned, the daughter of Roger the Norman, defended his principality for ten years, with great resolution against all opponents. In the meantime, his mother-in-law brought up the young Roger, and when she found that he was of age to bear arms, and assume the government of his father's states, she took off by poison, sad to say, the illustrious Frenchman, a noble knight and her own son-in-law. This noble lord being thus destroyed by female treachery, Roger succeeded to the principality, and enjoyed great prosperity for many years; but he was soiled

[1] In fact, Hugh I. succeeded his grandfather in 1075, and embraced the monastic life at Cluni in 1078, after the death of his wife, Sibylla.

[2] The manuscript reads *Testardie*. The translation is conjectural.

[3] Eudes Borel died in the Holy Land, in 1102, leaving by his marriage with Matilda, the sister, not the daughter of William Tête-Hardie, Hugh II., surnamed the Pacific, who succeeded him, Henry, a monk of Citeaux, and two daughters, the eldest of whom, Alice, Héle, or Hélate, had for her first husband, about 1096, Bertrand, count of Thoulouse, natural son of Raymond de St. Gilles, who died in 1112. She then married William III., count of Alençon and Ponthieu, called Talvas, son of the infamous Robert de Belesme. Menage pretends that she died on the last day of February, 1191, but that is not tenable. Other authors place her death in 1101, which is not more admissible. It is probable that the true date is 1119. She was buried, they say, in the abbey of Perseigne, but she was not living when that abbey was founded.

by many crimes, and, as I think, must expiate them by severe torments.

His crafty mother, who was daughter of Boniface of Liguria, having collected money from all sources after her husband's death, amassed a great treasure. Baldwin the younger, king of Jerusalem, hearing this, coveted her wealth and sent noble proxies to demand her hand in marriage. Adelais, insatiably greedy of pride, of rank, and honour, accepted the proposals of the illustrious suitors, and went to Jerusalem with a large retinue and a vast treasure.[1] King Baldwin was pleased enough to receive her money, which he lavished on the stipendiaries who fought in the name of Christ against the Pagans; but he repudiated the woman who was wrinkled with age, and had rendered herself infamous by many crimes. In consequence, the old woman returned to Sicily in confusion at her failure, and spent her declining years in general contempt.[2]

Roger, prince of Sicily, securely established his power, and prospered in wealth and honour, above all his predecessors of the same family. After the death of duke William, as already mentioned, he succeeded him in the duchy of Apulia against the will of the people: and he then persecuted all who had opposed him, cruely oppressing them by his powerful hand, and sparing no one, either kindred or strangers, but crushing them all, and stripping them of their property, he trod them under foot.[3]

Tancred de Conversana[4] was closely besieged by Roger of Sicily in Matera;[5] and making his escape thence, was taken by his cruel persecutors in a place called Monte Petroso,[6] Geoffry of Andria,[7] was also taken prisoner with his wife, on a rock on which the castle, near the city of Potenza, stands.[8] However Robert reduced the city, and pillaged there a treasury containing fifteen pounds' weight of gold and silver.

[1] In 1113.
[2] She died in 1118.
[3] In 1127.
[4] Tancred de Conversana, in the territory of Bari, probably the nephew of Sibylla, duchess of Normandy. He was count of Brundusium.
[5] Matera, in the Basilicata, the see of a bishop.
[6] Monte Scaglioso, a town of the Basilicata, in the diocese of Matera.
[7] Andria, an episcopal city in the territory of Bari.
[8] Potenza, capital of the Basilicata.

He also took the Lombard Grimoald de Bari,[1] a generous and high-spirited man, and stripping him of all his effects and strong places, reduced him to great humiliation. Even his cousin Richard, prince of Capua,[2] he disinherited, and compelled him by unjust violence to go into exile. Thus ruining by his tyranny both his kinsmen and strangers, he waded through a sea of blood and tears to such power that, first of the descendants of Tancred, he ascended a kingly throne, and obtained the sceptre and diadems, and other ensigns of royalty. He married the daughter of Peter Leo, the sister of Pope Anaclete, and having been crowned by this pope, still reigns as king of Sicily.[3]

CH. XVI. *A heavy fall of snow, and inundations—Violent summer heats and thunderstorms—Mans and Chartres burnt —Floods in Flanders—Insurrection of the Welsh.*

IN the year of our Lord 1134, many calamities afflicted the world, by which some were punished as their sins deserved, while others, witnessing such terrible and unusual events, become pale with terror. On Innocents' day, there was such a heavy fall of snow that it covered the whole face of the country, and so blocked up the entrances of the houses, that on the following day it was hardly possible for either man or beast to come forth from their abodes, or any how procure

[1] Grimoald, lord of Bari. His name points out his Lombard origin. His states were conquered by Roger, in 1132.

[2] This prince of Capua was not named Richard; neither the second of that name, who died in January, 1106, nor Richard III., who was invested in 1120, and died at the end of eight days; but Robert II., who succeeded his father, Jourdain II., the 13th of December, 1127, and was invested on the 28th of the same month, in the presence of Pope Honorius. He struggled long and obstinately against Roger, and it was not till the 1st of October, 1135, that the latter completed the conquest of Capua by the investiture of his third son, Anfuse, in the principality.

Capua having been rètaken by the Emperor Lothaire, on behalf of Robert, was again taken, and utterly sacked, in October, 1137.

The indefatigable Robert made his re-entry into Capua in 1155, on the death of Roger, but being forced to leave it the year following, he was given up to the Sicilians, who put out his eyes, and brought him to a miserable end.

[3] The date of the bull conferring the title of king on Count Roger has been already given. In 1120 he married Alberie, the daughter of Peter de Léon, second of that name, and consequently sister of Pope Anaclete. She bore him five children, and, dying on the eighth of February, 1145, was buried at Palermo.

what they required. Many of the faithful could not enter the churches to celebrate the feast, and in several places the priests could not even make their way to them through the deep snowdrifts. In the course of six days the wind changing to the westward, the snow melted and a deep flood immediately followed. The rivers were swelled with the waters and overflowed their banks, causing great losses and inconveniences to the people. The houses in the towns and villages were flooded so that they were compelled to quit their habitations. Great ricks of hay were swept off from the meadows, and tuns of wine and other vessels, with many valuable and ornamental articles, were carried away. Many had to lament their losses, while others rejoiced in unexpected acquisitions.[1]

In the month of June, the earth was burnt up during fifteen days by a parching heat, and men were forced to humble themselves before God with fasting and supplications, in terror of perishing by fire, like the inhabitants of the Pentapolis. The blazing sun, which was then in the Twins, dried up the springs and pools of water, and the thirsty animals were reduced to the greatest distress. One Saturday such a number of persons, exhausted by the raging heat, sought refreshment by bathing, that many were drowned in a single hour. In our own neighbourhood, where the news easily reached us, thirty-seven men perished in the pools and streams. It is not for me to raise questions on the judgments of God, by whom all things are wrought, nor can I unfold the mysterious causes of events; I simply write their annals, as I am requested by friends. Who can search out that which is inscrutable? Such occurrences as

[1] It appears that the inundation followed, on the 1st of January of the year on which our author's narrative now enters (1034), the heavy fall of snow which occurred on Innocents'-day (December 28) of the preceding year. Our author has mentioned it before (b. vi. c. x. vol. ii. p. 321) in connection with one of those familiar anecdotes which, scattered throughout his history, give it a peculiar value, as conveying to us ideas of the habits and modes of thought in his times. The hay was generally stored in barns for winter fodder, as so rigorous a climate as that of Normandy requires; and we may suppose that what was carried off by the inundations had been cut at too great a distance from the farms to be carted home, or that the buildings were insufficient. It was therefore stacked upon some rising ground, which, however, failed of giving security when the floods of the Risle and other streams, swelled by the melting of an extraordinary fall of snow, rose above their usual level.

I have either seen or heard I record with the best intentions for the benefit of posterity, and glorify God in all his works, which are truly righteous. Let every one consider them according to the light he may receive from heaven, and if he finds anything he thinks profitable to himself, let him select it for his soul's good, as he feels disposed.

In the month of August, on the eve of St. Lawrence the Martyr, after nones, there was a sudden storm of wind, followed, about the hour of vespers,[1] by awful thunder and a deluge of rain. In different places thunderbolts fell with a great crash, and killed several women. As far as I have heard, no male perished in this visitation; females only, both of the human species and brute animals, sunk under the infliction of the passing scourge. In the village of Planches,[2] on the confines of the dioceses of Lisieux and Séez, a young man named William Blanchard was driving homewards from a neighbouring friend, a cart in which his sister was sitting with some sheaves of oats. The youth being alarmed at the violent storm of rain, made all possible haste to gain the shelter of his mother's cottage which stood close by, but a thunderbolt fell on the haunches of the mare which was drawing the cart, and killed the animal, as well as the girl in the cart and a stray pullet of hers which was following after. Her young brother, who was riding the mare with the bridle in his hand, fell to the ground, excessively terrified, but through God's mercy, his life was spared. The rain soon afterwards poured down in torrents, but the cart and the sheaves it contained were burnt to ashes, which I saw the

[1] "Nones—vespers." It may be convenient to insert a list of the seven "Hours," as they are called, of the daily service in the Roman church:—

Matins or Lauds; from midnight till primes—service usually at 3, A.M.
Primes; 6, A.M., till tierce.
Tierce, 9, A.M., till sext.
Sext; 12, or noon, to nones.
Nones; 2 or 3, P.M., to vespers.
Vespers; 4, P.M., to complines, or second vespers.
Complines (*completorium*), about 7, P.M.

[2] Planches is a village situate about a league and a-half east of Merleraut, on the road from thence to Laigle. St. Evroult stands about four leagues to the north of these communes. In point of fact, Planches belongs to the diocese of Séez, and stands at its very extremity, being only divided from that of Lisieux by the Risle.

next day, as well as the corpse of the young girl laid out on a bier; for being then at Merleraut I paid a visit to the spot in order to be able to ascertain the facts and record them with certainty.[1]

At the village of Gaprée,[2] some reapers, observing a very black cloud which darkened the sky, called out to a little girl who happened to be gleaning in the field: "Run quickly, child, and fetch us our cloaks and coats to defend us from the rain." The girl began running in all haste to fulfil the errand; but she had scarcely, I think, made a single step, before she was struck with lightning and instantly expired. The same hour many such things happened, as I afterwards heard from trustworthy persons, but I cannot relate them all.

In the first week of September, the Lord our God punished many offences by fire, and burnt the houses of sinners, with the wealth they had been for a long while unjustly accumulating. Le Mans and Chartres, rich and ancient cities, were reduced to ashes. Alençon, Nogent-au-Perche, Verneuil, and other towns and villages perished in the flames, the wrath of God visiting the earth. At this time the cathedral of Mans, a most beautiful edifice, was burnt to the ground, and it was with great difficulty that the chest containing the relics of St. Julian, bishop and confessor, was transferred to the monastery of St. Vincent the martyr.[3] The bones of St. Scholastica, the Virgin, were also burnt, with many other relics; but after the fire their ashes were discovered in the shrines by those who piously searched for them. At Chartres the monastery of St. Peter the apostle[4]

[1] Our author is very happy in his descriptions of natural occurrences, as well as in his personal anecdotes, which, as we have just before remarked, give such an air of reality to his work.

[2] *In villa quæ Guaspreia dicitur.* The French editors of Ordericus consider that the place here mentioned is Gaprée, in the arrondissement of Alençon and canton of Courtomer; but they will not undertake to say that it is not Guéprée, in the arrondissement of Argentan and canton of Trie, the two names being nearly identical in Latin: *Guaspreia, Gaeprée.* Gaprée is, however, nearer St. Evroult than Guéprée.

[3] The details given by our author of the fire at Mans, which occurred on the 3rd of September, 1134, are correct. The relics of St. Julian were carried to the abbey de la Cloture.

[4] St. Stephen's, at Chartres, was destroyed by fire two days afterwards, on the 5th of September.

was reduced to ashes, and the venerable convent of monks was dispersed, their cloister and the other buildings and offices being destroyed. At the same season, the inhabitants of a variety of places experienced many extraordinary occurrences, and numbers of them suffered from fires originating in different ways. In their astonishment or sorrow, they can tell long stories of these events to the people of their neighborhood; but as I did not witness them, I have resolved not to lengthen my work by relating anything on doubtful authority.

In the same month, the righteous Judge took fearful vengeance, by the contrary element in another country, punishing the pirates for iniquities similar to those with which the earth was polluted in the time of Noah. In Flanders the sea overflowed its banks during the night, and suddenly deluging the country for an extent of seven miles, covered alike churches, towers, and cottages, and destroyed in one common catastrophe thousands of human beings, of both sexes, and all ranks and orders. In such an emergency it is plain, that neither speed could save the swift messenger, nor courage the man of arms, nor riches the wealthy; but all alike, men and women, handsome or deformed, were engulphed in the flood of waters, which soon stopped their mouths and terminated their existence. Thus did the sea accomplish the punishment of these wretched people, all in a moment, and then straightway at the command of God retired within its bounds. A poor woman recovering from recent childbirth was alarmed at hearing the rush of waters, but not losing her presence of mind jumped out of bed, and seizing her infant, with a hen and chickens, lost no time in getting on a little mow of hay,[1] which stood at her cottage door. The hay floated in the flood, which swept everything away in its rapid current, and eddying to and fro, carried the hay to a great distance from the spot where it stood. By God's mercy, the woman was saved with the few little things she had with her, being wonderfully snatched from the death which was so near. A boy twelve years old told me that he escaped destruction by climbing instantly to the roof of a

[1] *Mullonem.* In the pâtois of Upper Normandy, the people still speak of "un mulon de oin," for *foin.*

house, while his father and mother perished in the lower apartment.

In the course of the same year, several illustrious princes departed this life. Robert II. duke of Normandy, died in February at Cardiff, as already mentioned; Alfonso, king of Arragon at the beginning of autumn, after the battle of Fraga, in which fell the noble barons Bertrand and Roderick, with many other lords.

At this time the Welsh-Britons[1] were grievously oppressed by the various races who live under the rule of King Henry; and several of their provinces were granted to the Flemings, by whom they were butchered like dogs, without any regard for humanity, whenever they could track them out, in the woods and caves in which they lurked. The braver spirits among the Welsh finding this, became so indignant, that their courage was again roused, and flying to arms, they broke into fierce rebellion against King Henry, and made ample reprisals in revenge for their losses. They burnt a castle of Paganus Fitz-John, called Caus,[2] and mer-

[1] *Guali Britones.* Henry I., in person, led expeditions into Wales in 1114 and 1116; and during his reign, whenever opportunity could be found, irruptions were made on the Welsh by the lords on the frontier, frequently followed by reprisals. Henry also planted a colony of Flemings in the district of Roos in Pembrokeshire, traces of which still remain, to curb the power of Griffyth-ap-Rhys, prince of South Wales in those parts. This fact is cursorily recorded by most of the chroniclers, and more particularly by Giraldus Cambrensis, in b. i. c. 11, of his Itinerary.

[2] M. Le Prevost states in a note, that he is unable to point out the site of this castle, or ascertain its modern name; but he very judiciously observes, that it must have stood in the neighbourhood of that intermediate zone, between the two countries which merited the name of *Debateable land*, rather than that of a regular frontier. This conjecture is not far wrong: Cause or Caurse castle, the ruins of which still preserve its ancient name, stands indeed within the English border, but on the very confines of Shropshire, where a ridge, called the Long Mountain, divides it from the valley of the Severn and the adjoining county of Montgomery. It was one of the most important of the line of border castles built to restrain the incursions of the Welsh, more of which are mentioned subsequently in ch. xxxvii. Cause was at one time the lordship of Peter Corbett, and afterwards came into the possession of the barons Stafford.

Paganus (or Payn) Fitz-John, here named, and Milo Fitz-Walter, were entrusted by Henry I. with important governments on the borders of Wales, the first having the counties of Hereford and Salop, the other that

cilessly cut off the heads of all the persons of both sexes whom they found within it. Having committed this outrage, the whole band, inhabitants of the neighbourhood as well as strangers, betook themselves to the woods, like so many wolves, and carried on public hostilities, by indiscriminating slaughter, pillage, and firings.

CH. XVII. *Council of Pisa—Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, assists at it—Neglects his diocese—At last consecrates Richard, the king's nephew, bishop of Bayeux.*

IN the year of our Lord 1135, Pope Innocent assembled a very numerous council at Pisa,[1] and brought before it many things concerning the welfare of the church; but was prevented by adverse circumstances from accomplishing all he desired. Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, powerfully seconded

of Gloucester, under his jurisdiction. These "lord-marchers" being, like others, in continual hostilities with the Welsh, pushed their conquests across the border. Milo was lord of Over-Gwent and Brecknock, Fitz-John was lord of Ewyas, a mountainous district, now called the Hatterell hills, a continuation of the Black Mountains, near Talgarth, and extending into the county of Hereford. The celebrated abbey of Llantony, still beautiful in its ruins, stood in the vale of Ewyas.

In the early part of the reign of Stephen, Paganus Fitz-John, who had been a favourite and counsellor of Henry I., fell into suspicion, and was summoned to court, with others, to answer charges for their cruel and rapacious border warfare; but he was too prudent to obey the summons, and, while chastising the Welshmen, was pierced through the brain by an arrow, being the only one of his party who fell. See *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 333, 334, appended to Henry of Huntingdon's Hist. in the *Antiq. Lib.*; and the Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis, b. i. c. 2.

M. Le Prevost remarks of this Paganus Fitz-John, that "there is no doubt but he was a brother of Eustace Fitz-John, who married Beatrice, daughter and heiress of Ivo de Vesci, who married Ada, daughter and heiress of William Tyson, lord of Alnwick, in the county of Northumberland. William, the son of Eustace and Beatrice, took his mother's name, which was preserved in the family until it became extinct in 1297." He observes, that there was, in the 13th century, another family of Fitz-John, with which the persons here spoken of had no relation. Eustace Fitz-John, in 1117, founded at Alnwick the first priory of the order of the Premonstrants which existed in England. The charter of foundation, and a genealogy of the family, repeated several times, are preserved in the second volume of the *Monast. Anglican.*

[1] Our author continues to confound Pisa with "Picenum." The council was opened May 30, 1135, and closed June 6.

his designs, and was so much honoured by the pope, that he gave him the primacy over many bishops. Occupied in the affairs of the apostolical see, he neglected for some time the administration of his own diocese, and remaining too long in Italy, diligently employed in the concerns of others, the king was much displeased with him.

Besides, when after the death of Richard, bishop of Bayeux, the king gave the see to his own grandson Richard, the archbishop greatly hesitated to consecrate him, because he was a bastard, and deferred it for a long period, until the terror of the king's name should induce the court of Rome to grant authority for it. At last, when the envoys returned with the papal decree, the church of Bayeux was given to Richard, the son of Robert earl of Gloucester; and on the same day the bishopric of Coutances was entrusted to Richard de Beaufai.

CH. XVIII. *Henry I. is detained in Normandy by quarrels with the count of Anjou, fomented by the countess—Marches against William Talvas and Roger de Toeni, two of the lords in their interest.*

DURING the same year, King Henry having heard the sorrowful tidings of the insurrection of the Welsh, his anger was so much roused that, having ordered his affairs in Normandy with great prudence, he made three attempts to cross the sea, with a chosen troop of archers and a body of men-at-arms. But his expedition was prevented by the occurrence of opposing circumstances; nor was he permitted by God, who disposes all things in a wonderful manner, to return alive to England. Geoffrey of Anjou, his son-in-law,[1]

[1] The misunderstanding between Henry and his son-in-law Geoffrey, was of long standing, and embittered the last days of the English king. As long before as 1132, he had taken back his daughter to England, and did not restore her to her husband till in some measure compelled by the solemn decision of his counsellors at Northampton, at the feast of the Nativity, in 1133. But the journey did not take place till the Lent following. The princess was then far advanced in her pregnancy, as she was delivered of Henry II. at Mans, on Holy Saturday, March 25. The king followed her to the continent on Wednesday, August 2, notwithstanding an annular eclipse at noon, on account of which it was sought in vain to induce him to relinquish the voyage.

The quarrels between the king and his son-in-law continued to the end

coveted the vast wealth of his powerful father-in-law, and demanded possession of the castles in Normandy, alleging that they were promised him by the king when he gave him his daughter in marriage. But the high-spirited monarch had no inclination to allow any one, while he lived, to have any pre-eminence over himself, or even to be his equal in his family or dominions, well remembering the maxim of divine wisdom, that "No man can serve two masters." In consequence, the arrogant young prince was so incensed, that he gave offence to the king, both by threats and acts of insolence, and treated his counsels and admonitions with such contempt, that Henry became much irritated, and would have taken his daughter from him and carried her over to England, if Providence had so determined. The king saw with pain that Geoffrey besieged his son-in-law, Roscelin the viscount,[1] reduced to ashes the town of Beaumont, and without any respect to his royal father-in-law, pushed his advantages against Roscelin, to the last extremity. In this state of affairs between King Henry and the count of Anjou, discord grew up among the lords of Normandy, some of whom were partizans of the count but dared not break into open revolt, being kept in awe by a king of such experience. Were he to take arms against them, they well knew that perpetual imprisonment would be the punishment of the culprits.

William Talvas[2] and Roger de Toeni lay under the

of Henry's life. It even appears that Matilda took pleasure in fomenting them. "The king often proposed to return to England, but his daughter, the empress, detained him on account of various disputes which were between the king and the count of Anjou, through the intrigues of his daughter, by which he was exasperated against the count." It was thought that these domestic quarrels shortened the king's days.

[1] Roscelin de Beaumont, lord of Beaumont-le-Viconte and Montrevault (Maine-et-Loire), son of Ralph de Beaumont, second of that name, married Constance, the fifth natural daughter of Henry I. Robert du Mont calls her Matilda; perhaps she bore two names, as we have seen in the case of Queen Matilda, of Scotland.

[2] William Talvas, third of that name, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. The king had restored to him, in 1119, the county of Alençon, but not Belèsme, which continued to be united to the domains of the count du Perche.

William was one of the causes of the misunderstanding between Henry and the count and countess of Anjou, who were much displeased that the

greatest suspicion, and therefore did not venture to come to court.[1] For this reason the king deferred his voyage to England, and quartered his own troops in the fortress of Conches. This garrison saved the town, which was surrounded with good walls, and kept in check the young Roger, who was disposed to revolt. As for Talvas, the king often summoned him to his presence, and long waited in vain for him, tormented as he was by the stings of an evil conscience; and at last, after being frequently called to appear, he was disseized of all his fiefs. In the month of September, Talvas, deprived of his entire lordship, took refuge with the count of Anjou, making his residence in the castles of Perai and Mamers, which he held in fealty to that count. Meanwhile, the king was engaged from the eleventh of August to the feast of All-saints [1st November], in scouring the country about Sèez, and taking possession of Alençon, Almanesces, and other castles belonging to Talvas. Assembling a great number of labourers, he enlarged the trenches of Argentan, and, unconscious of future events, strongly fortified a place which soon afterwards was a great trouble to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

On the fifth of the calends of November [28th October], while they were celebrating the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, and the service of matins was being offered by the devout to the divine Majesty, a violent wind suddenly rose about the fourth watch of the night, and lasting all day until nones, in strong gusts accompanied with a terrible roar, stripped the roofs of innumerable houses, and churches, and lofty towers; and, levelling to the earth numberless trees,

king had not, at their request, restored this lord to his favour. It also appears, that both the count and countess were of arrogant and violent tempers, and they were, therefore, much disliked, as we shall find in the sequel.

[1] Roger de Toeni, second of that name and son of Ralph III. This family, by an exception extremely rare amongst the Norman lords, appears not to have been of Scandinavian origin, but to have sprung from a Frank named Hugh de Calvacamp, one of whose sons, Ralph, is described as a person of great power; and another was archbishop of Rouen in the middle of the tenth century. The archbishop, whose general character was far from exemplary, is accused of having alienated the domain of Toeni from the church to endow his own family. It has been already remarked, that the baronial house of Stafford in England was derived from that of Toeni.

laid open the woods. Men's hearts trembled at these spectacles, and various opinions were offered concerning the visitation. Some wise observers, who inquired keenly into the causes of events and conjectured the future from the past, said that the wrath of God threatened the world on account of its sins, and that the princes of the earth with their subjects would soon be laid low like the trees of the forests.

At this time Lewis, king of France, who was in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, lay sick from diarrhœa, which wasted his strength.[1] In the immediate apprehension of death, he set his house and all that he possessed in order, and summoning to his presence two of the most powerful lords of France, Theobald de Blois[2] and Ralph de Péronne,[3] who had been at variance, he restored peace between them. The kingdom of France he committed to his son Lewis Florus,[4] having three years before appointed him king, and caused him to be crowned at Rheims, on the tenth[5] of the calends of November [20th October], by Pope Innocent, assisted by the whole council of thirteen archbishops and two hundred and sixty-three bishops, amidst the acclamations of the multitudes who were present. Although the physicians despaired of the king's recovery, the omnipotent Adonai, who added fifteen years to the life of Hezekiah, prolonged also that of the suffering Lewis, unexpectedly affording him thereby an opportunity of amending his conduct.

CH. XIX. *The illness and death of Henry I.—His funeral—Measures taken for securing order in Normandy.*

MEANWHILE, Henry king of England, having arrived at

[1] Louis-le-Gros died of a diarrhœa, but not till two years later, August 1, 1137, after reigning twenty-nine years.

[2] Theobald, Count de Blois and Champagne, surnamed the Great, was the elder brother of King Stephen. He had been one of the most mortal enemies of Louis-le-Gros. Never was confidence more misplaced than on Theobald.

[3] Ralph I., Count de Vermandois, de Valois, d'Amiens, de Crespi, lord of Péronne, and high steward of France. He, on the contrary, was a faithful and brave defender of the French crown. His sister married Robert, Count de Meulan, but left him for William II., earl of Surrey.

[4] Lewis le Jeune.

[5] The reading should be, "on the eighth," the number stated by our author before. See p. 130.

the castle of Lions[1] on the seventh of the calends of December, gave orders to his huntsmen to be ready to attend him for the chace in the woods on the next day. But during the night he suddenly fell sick, and lay at the point of death from Tuesday till the following Sunday. In the course of that time he confessed his sins to his chaplains;[2] and then, sending for Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, he requested his spiritual counsels. By his admonitions, the king released criminals from all forfeitures, permitted all exiles to return to their homes, and restored those whom he had disinherited to their paternal estates. He gave orders to his son Robert to take out of his treasury, which was under his charge at Falaise, sixty thousand livres, and distribute it in pay and donatives to his household servants and hired troops.[3] He commanded that his body should be carried to Reading, where he had founded a monastery for two hundred monks, in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity.[4]

[1] The castle of Lions was a favourite hunting seat of the Norman dukes and kings, in a forest of the same name, about six leagues from Rouen. Henry arrived there on Monday November 25. Henry of Huntingdon mentions, that his illness was caused by eating lampreys, of which he was immoderately fond. P. 259, *Antiq. Lib.*

[2] It was the abbot of Reading, who, happening to be in the neighbourhood, was first summoned to administer the consolations of religion to the king. He afterwards sent to the archbishop of Rouen, who gives the following account of his last hours in a letter to Pope Innocent, preserved by William of Malmesbury: "I went to him and stayed there, full of grief, three days. At my instance, he confessed his sins, and beat his breast with his own hand, dismissing all ill-will. By the divine counsels given him by me and the bishops, he often promised that he would lead a better life. After that promise, as my duty was, I gave him absolution for the third time in three days. He adored the crucifix, received with devotion the body and blood of our Lord, and ordered alms to be distributed, thus saying: 'Let my debts be paid, all wages and stipends be discharged, and the rest be given amongst the poor.'"

At the king's death, there was found in his treasury at Winchester, say the historians, more than a hundred thousand livres, of exquisite coinage. There were also vessels of gold and silver, of massive weight and inestimable value, collected by the ancient kings, with magnificent additions by Henry himself.

[3] Our author omits noticing, that he bequeathed his immense heritage to his daughter, without making any mention of his son-in-law, "being incensed against her husband, exasperated by his threats, and even injuries."

[4] This is not quite exact. The abbey of Reading was dedicated to the blessed Virgin and St. John, as we have already observed.

Lastly, this catholic prince besought all persons to preserve peace and protect the poor. Then, after having made his confession, he received penance and absolution from the priests, and receiving extreme unction, and being strengthened by the holy eucharist, commended himself to God, and so departed this life on the calends of December [1st December], being Sunday, early in the night. There were then assembled five counts, Robert of Gloucester, William de Warrenne, Rotrou of Mortain, Waleran of Mellent, and Robert of Leicester,[1] besides several other lords, captains, and noble castellans: all of whom were entreated by Hugh the archbishop, and Ouen, bishop of Evreux, not to forsake their master's corpse unless by common consent, but to conduct it to the sea side, all together, in an honourable escort.

On Monday they bore the royal corpse from the castle of Lions to Rouen,[2] twenty thousand men attending it, that no honour should be wanting in the obsequies. It was received with great pomp in the cathedral church of St. Mary, mother of God, all ranks of men and persons of both sexes shedding floods of tears during the solemnity. During the night the body, which was very fat, was opened by a skilful surgeon, and embalmed with sweet spices.[3] The entrails were carried in an urn to Emendreville, and deposited in the church of St. Mary-du-Pré, which his mother began and he finished.

[1] Robert, earl of Gloucester, the king's natural son; William de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, probably the third of that name, as his father William had died in the course of the year; Rotrou II., Count du Perche; Waleran, count, or earl, of Mellent; and Robert the Hunchback, earl of Leicester.

[2] The corpse was carried by the high nobles, relieving each other at intervals. From the distance between the castle of Lions and Rouen just stated, it must have been a long and toilsome journey.

[3] So far from this, the embalment was performed in the most clumsy and offensive manner. "The body, being slashed by knives, and copiously sprinkled with salt, was sewn up in ox-hides to prevent the ill effluvia, which so filled the air as to be pestilential to the bystanders," says Henry of Huntingdon. A better process was introduced from the east in the following century, precious aromatics being substituted for salt. Thus the heart of St. Lewis was preserved. The embalment of King Baldwin, in 1118, though performed in the east, was done according to the primitive rude process, salt being the principal ingredient. But Baldwin died in the desert.

Thereupon, the government of Rouen and the district of Caux was committed, by order of the council, to William de Warrenne,[1] who protected the people for some time, much to their advantage. William de Roumare, and Hugh de Gournay,[2] and other lords-marchers, were directed to defend the borders of the duchy; Robert de Sigillo, and some other clerks[3], with Robert de Vere[4], John Algason[5], and other English knights, and the guards and officers of the royal household, assembled together, and conducted the king's bier to Caen, by way of Pontaudemer and Bonneville.[6] They were detained there for nearly four weeks, waiting a favourable wind to put to sea. During this time the corpse of the king was kept in the choir of the church of St. Stephen, the protomartyr; until, after Christmas, it was embarked on board ship by monks, employed in that duty, and carried over to England: it was then buried with great honours by the successor to the throne, and the bishops and great men of the realm, in the abbey-church at Reading.

Having now given a faithful account of the circumstances attending the death of this glorious father of his country, I shall proceed to describe briefly, in hexameter verses, the sufferings which turbulent Normandy, our wretched mother, underwent in the fangs of the viper brood, her own offspring: for, as soon as the death of her pious prince was known, in the first week of Advent, on one and the same

[1] William III. de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, mentioned just before.

[2] William de Roumare, second of that name, also noticed. Hugh III. de Gournai.

[3] *Robert de Sigillo*, &c. These persons were members of the royal chancery. M. Dubois, indeed, the French translator of Ordericus, states in a note, that Robert's name was derived from Sigi in the arrondissement of Neufchâtel. But it is evidently a name of office, Robert being chancellor, and wearing the seal of the late king, as M. Le Prevost observes, suspended from his neck.

[4] Robert de Ver, or Vere, was the son of Aubrey de Vere, the first of the name, or William de Vere; and consequently brother or cousin-german of Aubrey de Vere II. It is supposed that this family originated at Ver, in the arrondissement of Coutances.

[5] John Algason, brother of Guigan Algason, viscount d'Exmes.

[6] The funeral procession on this occasion proceeded by land, on the road through Pontaudemer and Bonneville-sur-Touque. Henry of Huntingdon gives a loathsome account of the state of the corpse while it lay in the church of St. Ouen at Caen. The last honours were not paid to the deceased king till January 6, 1136, when his body was interred at Reading.

day, the Normans rushed like raving wolves to the prey, and greedily entered on a course of the most infamous devastations.

Sceptriger invictus, sapiens dux, inclytus heros,
Qui fovit populos justo moderamine multos,
Proh dolor! occubuit; dolor hinc oritur generalis,
Publica Normannis clades simul instat et Anglis.
Divitiis et justitiâ, sensu, probitate,
Strenuitas ejus manifesta refulsit ubique.
Nullus eo melior princeps dominatur in orbe.
Tempore quo nimium scelus in toto fuit orbe,
Ut reor, e cunctis fuit is melioribus unus.
Hoc attestantur speciales illius actus.
Ecclesiæ tutor, pacisque serenus amator,
Vivat in æternum cum Christo rege polorum! Amen.

Occidit Henricus rex prima luce Decembris
Lugubris incumbit patriæ contritio membris.
Tollere quisque cupit jam passim res alienas,
Rebus in injustis en quisque relaxat habenas.
Ecce gehennales furiæ mortalibus instant;
Arma parant, ad bella vocant, et specula donant.
Normanni furtis insistunt atque rapinis;
Mutuo jam sese perimunt, capiuntque ligantque;
Incendunt ædes, et in illis quicquid habetur;
Non parcunt monachis, mulieres non reverentur.
Femina clara gemit rabie spoliata latronum;
Tegmina jus non servat ei generale Quiritum.
Cæditur imberbis, puero fur non miseretur.
Hæc Romana phalanx, licet ethnica, non operatur.
Luce patet clara quod eis pax extat amara;
Quam mox spreverunt, ut regem fata tulerunt.
Pro nece patritii fures lætantur iniqui;
Prædones avidi discurrunt ad mala prompti.
Jamque putant quod nullus eos herus amodo jure
Arceat: e contra refero, falluntur in hac re.
Æternum regis jus permanet omnipotentis,
Ecclesiæque bonum dabit ipse repente patronum.
Principe sublato, monachorum supplicat ordo,
Fletibus ad veniam scelerum flectendo sophiam.
Summe Deus, cohibe ne possint sæva patrare,
Cui cupiunt rabidi famulantes perniciei.
Ecce furit rabies, vocat et trahit ad scelus omnes.
Comprime ne valeant actu complere quod optant.
Christe ducem præbe, qui pacem justitiamque
Diligat ac teneat, populumque tuum tibi ducat.
Justitiæ virga turgentum percute dorsa,
Ut secura tibi tua plebs possit famulari! Semper Amen.

"The invincible monarch, the wise duke, the illustrious hero, who governed so many nations under a just administration, alas! is dead; and the sorrow for him is universal. The Normans and English alike are threatened with general slaughter. His wealth and justice, prudence and worth, extended his power far and wide. There was no better prince than him in all the world, in times when it was overrun with excessive wickedness. He was, as I think, the best of kings. His brilliant acts prove this. May this defender of the church, and lover of peace, live for ever with Christ, the king of the universe! Amen.

"King Henry died on the 1st of December. His sorrowing country feels his loss in all her members.[1] Already, every one covets the pillage of his neighbour's property, and abandons himself to unbridled injustice. The infernal furies pursue mankind; they prepare arms, summon to the fight, and distribute darts. The Normans abandon themselves to robbery and pillage; they butcher one another, make prisoners, and bind them in fetters; burn houses and all that is in them, not even sparing monks, or respecting women. The lady of rank groans, stripped by the hands of furious robbers; public law is without force to save her wardrobe. The beardless youth is murdered; the ruffian

[1] Ordericus gives a favourable view of the character of Henry I. throughout his history. See particularly vol. iii. p. 386, and the notes. Henry of Huntingdon treats it with far more impartiality. We can only refer to the passages at the beginning of the eighth book of his history, and in his "letter to Walter, on the illustrious men of that age;" pp. 261 and 313, of Bohn's edition in *Antiq. Lib.* William of Malmesbury eulogizes this king, like most of the monkish clergy. He thus describes his person and habits: "In stature, he was above the very short, but less than the very tall; he had black hair, which clustered thick about his forehead; his eyes were mild and serene; his chest brawny; his body fleshy. He was facetious in proper season, nor did multiplicity of business prevent his indulgence in pleasantry when he received company. . . . . He was plain in his diet, rather satisfying the calls of hunger than surfeiting himself by a variety of delicacies. He never drank but to allay thirst, execrating the slightest excess both in his court and all others. His sleep was heavy and interrupted by frequent snoring. His eloquence was rather unpremeditated than laboured, not rapid but deliberate." Hist. c. v.

The length of his arm probably still constitutes the standard for measures of length in England. "He corrected the false ell of the traders, and appointed the measure of his own arm to be the standard, which he established throughout England." *Ib.*

has no pity even for a boy. Heathens as they were, the Roman legions committed no such crimes. It is as clear as light that peace is insupportable to these people, and they broke it as soon as they heard of the king's death. Greedy for plunder, they rejoiced in the loss of their prince, and suppose that there is now no master to restrain them. I think they are mistaken in this. The eternal laws of the Almighty King still subsist, and He will quickly give his church a generous protector. Having lost their prince, the monks supplicate the Supreme Wisdom, with tears, to avert and pardon offences. Most high God, suffer not these fierce workers of iniquity to perpetrate the cruelties they wish. Lo! their furious rage calls and summons the people to crime. Restrain them from carrying into execution what they design. O Christ, give us a prince who shall observe and cherish peace and justice, and be the guide of thy people! Smite the backs of the rebellious with the scourge of justice, that thy faithful people may ever serve thee in security! Amen."

CH. XX.—*Accession of King Stephen—He is crowned in England—The Normans, after some demur, acknowledge him as Duke.*

As soon as Stephen, count of Boulogne, heard of his uncle's death,[1] he immediately crossed over to England, and being well received by William, archbishop of Canterbury, and the other bishops and temporal lords, ascended the throne, and was crowned on the eighteenth of the calends of January [15th December], being the fourth king of the Norman race

[1] Stephen was probably at Boulogne when he heard of his uncle's death, and he lost not a moment in taking a swift vessel and crossing over to England. The auguries were unfavourable, for, on the morning of his embarkation, although it was in the depth of winter, there was a violent thunder-storm, and the peals were so loud, that people thought, we are told, that the end of the world was come.

[2] The coronation took place not on the 15th, but, according to most of the chroniclers, on the 26th of December, the feast of his patron saint. The ceremony was performed by William de Curboil, archbishop of Canterbury, with such carelessness, that he let the consecrated host fall on the ground. Perhaps his conscience was troubled by his perjury; of which all present were guilty, commencing with the archbishop himself, of whom it was predicted, that he would not outlive the year, in punishment of his

who reigned in England. Meanwhile, the Normans, holding a counsel at Neubourg, inclined to place themselves under the government of Theobald, his brother; but hearing, while they were assembled, from a monk who was Stephen's envoy, that all the English had submitted to him and intended to make him their king, the meeting unanimously resolved, with Theobald's consent, to serve under one lord, on account of the fiefs which the barons held in both countries.[1] In consequence, Theobald, indignant at not being called to the throne, although he was the elder brother, departed in haste to transact important affairs which urged his attention in France, and by his negligence allowed Normandy to be oppressed for a long time. The duchy was therefore left without a ruler, while Stephen was otherwise occupied in England.[2]

treason; and this actually happened. It must be recollected, that Henry had caused all the great men of the realm to take the oath of fealty to his daughter, as his successor, twice at least; once at the council of Northampton, before she left England to be confined at Mans, the other ceremony dated back to a period anterior to Matilda's second marriage, probably in the winter or early spring-time of 1127. On this occasion, it was very solemn. The archbishop was the first of the ecclesiastics who took the oath, and after him followed all the bishops and abbots. Then came the king of Scots, Stephen count de Mortain, and the earl of Gloucester; and there was a great discussion among them as to which of them should swear first. It appears that there was a third oath of fealty after the birth of Prince Henry; but several of the great men who had taken the first, and among others Roger, bishop of Salisbury, pretended to be released from their obligation, the king having married his daughter to a foreigner without consulting them.

[1] It has been observed already, that Geoffrey and Matilda were unpopular in England. We find here, that they were not less so in Normandy, where Count Theobald, Stephen's eldest brother, presented himself as successor to Henry in the duchy, on no other ground than that he was a nephew of the late king. He was rejected in consequence of the intelligence of Stephen's having mounted the throne in England, and for a very politic reason, arising out of that circumstance, which must have had great weight with the Anglo-Norman nobles. But, meanwhile, the duchy was left without a government; and it is extraordinary that Matilda and her husband could find no one to assert their rights. It appears that the whole country was plunged into a sort of stupor.

[2] In imitation of his late uncle's policy, the first thing Stephen did was to hurry to Winchester and seize the royal treasure. He easily secured the concurrence of the two treasurers, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and William du Pont d'Arche. The citizens of London and Winchester at once declared for him; but his principal support was found in his brother

Ch. XXI. *The count and countess of Anjou enter Normandy, but their pretensions are defeated—Disturbed state of that country.*

In the first week of December, Geoffrey of Anjou receiving intelligence of king Henry's death, sent forward to Normandy his wife Matilda without loss of time; and Guigan Algason, a man of low extraction but of great power, acknowledged her as his lawful sovereign, and yielded to her Argentan, Exmes, Damfrout, and some other places, which he governed under the king as viscount.[1] Soon afterwards, Count Theobald himself followed, with William Talvas, count of Ponthien, and the forces of Anjou and Maine, and received the submission of the garrisons of Sèez and some other castles which were dependencies on the fief of Talvas. His troops, however, spread throughout the neighbouring country, committed many cruelties, violated the churches and cemeteries, outraged their hospitable entertainers, and caused much injury and loss to those who had treated them with kindness. But the Normans, who are naturally fierce and daring, feeling the evils inflicted on them by their guests, flew to arms, and making furious attacks on the foreign troops, pursued the fugitives through the villages and woods, and, as it is commonly reported, destroyed more than seven hundred of them by fire and sword. The rest, terrified at the bloody dealings of the Normans, made an ignominious retreat, and, gaining their own country after being sharply punished at the point of the sword, had no desire to repeat the experiment. Besides, Robert de Sablé, son of Lisiard,[2] and some other lords, revolted against Count Geoffrey, and, keeping him in his own territories by intestine hostilities, he could not return to Normandy.

This province, however, though not disturbed by foreigners, by no means enjoyed security and peace, inasmuch as it was cruelly harassed by its own sons, and like a woman

Henry, bishop of Winchester and legate of the Roman see, who procured for him the adhesion of the clergy.

[1] This Viscount d'Exmes could offer but a feeble support against the nobility and clergy of Normandy.

[2] Robert de Sablé, lord of Gacé, son of Lisiard de Sablé, and great-grandson of Solomon de Sablé, by Adelaide Giroie. See before, vol. i. p. 395.

in childbirth, was always suffering the pangs of labour. If the Norman race lived according to God's law, and were united under a good prince, they would be as invincible as the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, the Medes and Persians under Cyrus and Darius, and the Macedonians under Alexander; as their repeated conquests in England, Apulia, and Syria show. But as discord makes divisions among them, and fatally arms them against each other, while they are victorious in foreign lands they are conquered by themselves, and cut each other's throats without mercy, while their enemies in the neighbourhood look on and laugh, and their mother's eyes are often full of tears.

Ch. XXII. *King Stephen being detained in England, private hostilities are carried on in Normandy.*

In the year of our Lord, 1136, the fourteenth indiction, while Stephen, king of England, delayed his coming over to Normandy, and the province was left without a protector and prince, altercations took place between the turbulent chiefs of that country, and the sons of iniquity multiplied their outrages.

In the beginning of Lent, Eustace de Breteuil died at Pacey; and after Easter, his son William overran the lordship of Breteuil with fire and sword, to assert his claims.

At this time king Stephen betrothed his daughter,[1] who was only two years old, to Waleran, count de Mellent. After Easter, the count hastened to return to Normandy, where sharp hostilities were carried on between Roger de Toeni[2] and Robert, earl of Leicester,[3] to the miserable desolation of the whole neighbourhood. Between the Rogation days and Whitsuntide, Roger seized, by stratagem, the royal fortress of Vaudreil; but three days afterwards, count Waleran hastened thither with the commonalty of Rouen, and recovered the place for the king. Then, two days after

[1] This was probably Mary de Blois, at first abbess of Ramsey, and then taken from the cloister, and married to Matthew of Flanders, third son of Thierri d'Alsace, count of Flanders. She re-entered the cloister in 1169, and died there in 1182. Waleran married, at a later period, Agnes de Montfort, lady of Gournai-sur-Marne.

[2] Roger de Toeni, of whom we have already spoken, p. 147.

[3] Robert, earl of Leicester, surnamed Hunchback, lord of Breteuil, and brother of Count Waleran.

Whitsuntide, he attacked Acquigni with a strong force, and reduced it to ashes. But notwithstanding, on the next day Roger marched against him and burnt three of his vills.[1] Such were the sort of outrages committed by the Normans, gnawing themselves with their own teeth, like the beast allegorically represented in the Apocalypse.

From Christmas to the octave of Whitsuntide, in consequence of the absence of the king, who was detained beyond sea by the multitudinous affairs of his kingdom, Count Theobald concluded a truce with the count of Anjou; and, in the mean time, the Norman army waited with impatience for the king's coming over. The truce being ended, the people were left in great astonishment, having no ruler, and not knowing what to do. The villainous freebooters desired to see the day when they could, in full liberty, plunder and ravage the property of others; while the unarmed population, and good and honest men, were in the greatest alarm at the designs of the sons of Belial, who had no fear of God.

CH. XXIII. *A band of marauders make an incursion on the lands of St. Evroult—The inhabitants resist and hang the robbers—The garrison of L'Aigle, in revenge, reduce the bourg to ashes and ill-treat the monks—The abbey escapes the conflagration.*

ROBERT, surnamed Boet, a famous archer, attached to the service of Richer de L'Aigle, drew around him a band of hardy ruffians and cut-throats, who committed daily murders and robberies, his skill in archery being only surpassed by his detestable villainy. This man, even desecrated by his nefarious enterprises, the week of Pentecost, which the Holy Spirit rendered illustrious by the sevenfold graces bestowed on Christ's disciples; and, without troubling himself about futurity, was bent upon still more infamous projects; like as the good are inflamed by the fires of the Paraclete with the love of God and their neighbour, to their soul's health,

[1] The expedition of Roger against Vaudreuil, was evidently marched from that castle of Acquigni, on which Count Waleran took such fearful reprisals on May 13. This is the first occasion on which our author notices an expedition of the burgesses of Rouen beyond their own territory. The three domains laid waste by them were probably la Croix-Saint-Leuffroi, Cailli, and Ecardanville-sur-Eure.

so the wicked, wildly raving in the spirit of the devil, are driven into every sort of evil. Thus, on the fifteenth of the calends of June [18th May],[1] this banditti rushed like wolves on their prey, and avoiding the lands of warlike chiefs, and falling on those of the monks, they sought to drive off the cattle from the fields where they were quietly feeding. But as they were swift to shed blood, so, by just retribution of God, they soon found destruction and sorrow in their ways. Thirty robbers were plundering the honest people near Ouche, but on the cries of the shepherds being heard, the burghers rushed forth, and, taking twelve of the thieves, hung seven of them on the same oak. There Robert Boet was, by an impulse of popular fury, raised to a great elevation, with six of his gang; such was the triumph he obtained for his crimes. See how those, who had not feared to violate the respect due to the seven consecrated days of Whitsuntide, in their eager haste to ruin their neighbours with robbery and murder, perished by hanging, to the like number of seven, on the Monday of the week following.

The garrison of L'Aigle hearing of this on the same day, mustered, in great fury, to take revenge for the fate of their comrades; and making a sudden onset on Ouche, and taking the place by surprise, set fire to the bourg of St. Evroult, where, in the twinkling of an eye, eighty-four houses were reduced to ashes.[2] The monks, thrown into the utmost distress, tolled the bells, and chaunted psalms and litanies in the church, fearing that instant ruin threatened the monastery. Some of the brethren went forth among the soldiery,

[1] The 18th of May, 1136, fell on the Monday after the octave of Whitsuntide.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to remark, in connection with the frequent burnings of which we read throughout our author's narrative, and of whole towns and villages being quickly reduced to ashes during the wars and private hostilities with which Normandy was afflicted, that almost all the buildings were constructed of timber. This must have been particularly the case at St. Evroult, which was then, as it still is, buried in the depths of a vast forest. A large bourg must have arisen in dependence on the abbey since the saint first planted his staff in the wilderness, for it to have contained the number of houses here mentioned. We question whether there are so many at the present day; but it probably presents a more desolate appearance than it did in the flourishing days of the abbey.

Our author, who excels in descriptions of this kind, was probably an eye-witness of the scenes which he brings so vividly under our view.

humbly intreating them to desist; and, excusing their people, with tears in their eyes, for the punishment inflicted on the guilty, they offered justice and lawful satisfaction for that transaction. But the soldiers, maddened with fury and blind with rage, abused and insulted the monks; they would listen to no reason, and some of them even dragged the religious servants of God from their palfries, and were for beating them. At last, without any reverence for heaven, they made a violent assault on the village, and, forcing their way in, pillaged the houses, and then setting them on fire, as I have before said, burnt the whole place to the ground. Such an expedition, to avenge a set of robbers, justly brought disgrace on the soldiers who took arms against innocent monks and their vassals, on behalf of ruffians banded to perpetrate every sort of crime. Such was the duty that Richer de L'Aigle, the godson of the monks, paid to his sponsors! In the same spirit, he offered prayers for the souls of Boet, the famous robber, and the rest of the gang; and such were the offerings he made to the church in which he was baptised! Baudri also, the priest of L'Aigle, marched at the head of his parishioners to the commission of this execrable outrage, and was the first to set fire to the lodgings of a brother priest; and thus led the way for his flock into the pit of perdition, which yawned for him and all his followers. The fury of the flames almost reached the church, but through God's mercy the wind changed, and drove the conflagration in another direction, to the great joy of the crowd who watched its progress. The abbey-church, therefore, and the monks' lodgings, with the books and ecclesiastical ornaments, were saved. The inhabitants of the bourg, with their poor households, in their present desolation, sought shelter in the abbey, waiting till God's providence should send them better times.

The garrison of L'Aigle vaunted themselves on the spoils they took at Ouche, but their rejoicings were soon cut short. In the same month they sallied forth against Séez and Gacé, and had frequent skirmishes with Roger de Toeni. But after they sacked the vill of St. Evroult, no enterprise of theirs prospered; on the contrary, by God's judgment, they suffered frequent losses, some of their band being slain and others being taken prisoners. It was but just that men who

had attacked unarmed and quiet people, whom no fear of God induced them to spare, should afterwards encounter, without intending it, brave and well-trained troops; on which occasion they were frequently accosted in words of shame and derision such as these: "Come hither, soldiers: we are not such as wear the tonsure and the cowl, but men-at-arms like yourselves. We, your comrades, challenge you to fight, and you ought to learn by experience what we are made of." They had often to blush at such taunts, and many of them fell, after an obstinate resistance; others, seeing the ruin of their comrades, were brought to repentance.

Ch. XXIV. *Stephen's expedition to Normandy again deferred —The country torn by intestine wars—Death of Boso, abbot of Bec.*

After Whitsuntide, King Stephen equipped his fleet for sailing over to Normandy; but while he was waiting near the port for a favourable wind, a messenger brought intelligence of the death of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who had been entrusted with the government of the whole of England, under his uncle and afterwards by himself. In consequence, Stephen deferred his voyage and returned to Salisbury, where finding the bishop in good health, his expedition was thus fruitlessly retarded till Lent.

Meanwhile, Gilbert de Clare[1] engaged in an expedition against Exmes, and burnt the new bourg which King Henry had lately added to the place, with the church of the holy Mother of God. He also made desperate attempts to set fire to the old bourg;[2] but they were defeated by Count Talvas, who fell upon him suddenly, with other knights and men-at-arms, and Gilbert escaped with some difficulty. Henry de

[1] Gilbert de Clare, the brother-in-law of Count Waleran, was created, two years afterwards, earl of Pembroke. We shall presently hear of his brother Walter at Sap. Gilbert's origin was probably derived from Beinfaite, the principal fief of that branch of the family in this quarter.

[2] The Bourg-neuf was a small suburb of Exmes, situate to the east, and enlarged by Henry I. The church of Notre Dame stood on the spot where a priory of Benedictines was afterwards built. The old bourg means here the heart of the place.

Ferrers[1] was taken prisoner in this affair, and great numbers of the king's partisans were either captured or slain.

At this time, the counts Waleran and Robert demanded aid from Theobald, count de Blois, and engaged him for a hundred silver marks to march with them against Roger de Toeni.[2] Making an irruption on his territories with an immence force, on the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle,[3] they burnt the cottages of many poor people in three villages. Afterwards they fell on a large bourg called Bougi, and at the suggestion of the earl of Leicester, set fire to the neighbouring houses, and burnt the fine church of St. Mary Magdelene,[4] with a number of men and women.

On the same day, Richer de L'Aigle and Alverede de Verneuil passing with their troops near New Ferrières, were boldly set upon and routed by Robert de Belèsme, the Malvoisins, and other French knights who were partisans of Roger de Toeni. They escaped with great difficulty, having lost many of their party, either slain or made prisoners.[5]

In the third week of June, Count Theobald laid siege to Pont-Saint-Pierre, and during a whole month used every effort to take it. But William de Fontaines,[6] with other

[1] *Henricus de Ferrariis.* He was probably a son of William de Ferrières, near Bernai, who was, as our author has told us, one of the most faithful adherents of Duke Robert at the battle of Tinchebrai.

[2] Such was the hereditary hatred which had subsisted between these families for a century past.

[3] The 11th of June, 1136.

[4] Bougi-sur-Risle, the church of which is, in fact, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene.

[5] This is one of the most obscure passages in our author. Nothing is known of this Robert de Belèsme: we shall find him afterwards bearing the surname of Poard. Roger de Toeni had taken into his pay the Mauvoissins, that is, the vassals of Mauvoissin, lord of Boissi-Mauvoisin, and other fiefs in the neighbourhood of Mantes, to oppose them to the soldiers of Count Theobald. But where was this New-Ferrières where they encountered Richer de L'Aigle and Alverede de Verneuil? Was it Ferrières-sur-Risle, at two leagues from Bougi? If it was recently founded, it is possible that our author, not knowing its exact name, called it New-Ferrières, to distinguish it from older places of the same name.

[6] We have found before that the lord of Breteuil ceded his important domains in the valley of Andelle to the lord of Conches. The name of *Gulielmus de Fontibus* is too vague for us to apply it to a person or locality that is known. It may, however, be remarked, that there was a family of that name in the diocese of Séez.

brave soldiers and retainers in the service of Roger, made such an obstinate resistance to the enemy, that they saved the place.

Meanwhile, the venerable Boso, abbot of Bec, having worthily governed the abbey for nearly ten years, died on the feast of St. John the Baptist, after a long illness, which that most learned man bore with the greatest patience. He was succeeded by Theobald the prior, who was elected by a chapter of the monks, according to ecclesiastical rule.[1]

On the morrow of the feast of St. John, Ralph, archdeacon of the church of Evreux, was set on by the sons of Simon Hareng, while returning from Pacey, and escaped with great difficulty. He himself fled to a church which happened to be near, and was saved, but his servant and companion on the journey was slain while defending his master.[2]

Ch. XXV. *A great fire at Rouen — The monastery of St. Ouen burnt.*

This tumultuous year was truly bissextile, and, as the common saying is, the bissext fell on the king and his people in Normandy and England.

In the third week of September, the city of Rouen was burnt down by a fire which suddenly broke out, and by God's judgment the faithful suffered great losses. The noble monastery of St. Ouen was, alas! consumed by the

[1] Boso, who was first prior and afterwards (in 1124) abbot of Bec, died on the 24th of June, 1136, at the age of seventy-one years. Our author is not more exact than usual in calculating the length of his administration. He was the most intimate friend of St. Anselm, who took him to England, employed him as his deputy at the council of Clermont, and introduces him as interlocutor in one of his dialogues. Mabillon has given extracts from the life of Boso, written by William Crespen. He had for successor Theobald, who was soon afterwards raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

[2] This Simon Hareng probably belonged to the family of Hareng de Granville, though that commune is situated on the other side of Evreux. But the name of Simon is often afterwards found in it, particularly in 1245 and 1318. The Simon of 1245 was excommunicated by the chapter of St. Evroult for some outrage of himself and his vassals on their property. Some part of the family of Hareng lived at Pontaudemer, and are often mentioned in the chartulary of Préaux. The chapel in which the archdeacon took refuge must be that of St. Geneviève, to the north of the road.

flames, an edifice which had been scarcely completed, after much labour bestowed on it during eighty years. The same disaster happened to the convent of nuns built in honour of St. Amand, bishop and confessor.

CH. XXVI. *Irruption of the Anjevins into Normandy—Repulsed before Montreuil, Moutiers, Lisieux, and Sap—They make an ignominious retreat.*

ON the Sunday following, the eleventh of the calends of October,[1] Geoffrey, count of Anjou, passed the river Sarthe, and entered Normandy with a large army. He had with him William, duke of Poitiers,[2] Geoffrey de Vendôme,[3] the young William, son of William count de Nevers,[4] and William, count de Ponthieu, surnamed Talvas. These lords, and many other commanders and officers joined their forces with the Anjevins, and, either to support their prince, or from the love of plunder, fell on the Normans, practising every kind of villainy. Hence they were called *Hilibecs*, in hatred and contempt, by those whom they harassed with so much insolence.[5]

First, the count of Anjou besieged Carrouges,[6] and, in three days, took the citadel, which was defended by the knight Walter, the castellan, but he recovered it soon afterwards, on the enemy's evacuating it. Ecouché[7] was burnt

[1] In 1136, the eleventh of the calends of October (21st of September) fell on a Monday. The reading should probably be the *twelfth*.

[2] William, eighth of that name as count of Poitiers, and tenth as duke of Aquitaine (1127—April 9, 1137).

[3] Geoffrey de Vendôme, second son of Geoffrey III., surnamed Grisegonnelle, by Maud de Châteaudun.

[4] Probably William III. de Nevers, who succeeded his father, William II., in 1147.

[5] It is impossible to give any explanation of this word. It is probably a nickname, which passed current among the people at the time, but of which there are no written traces except in our author's pages. It appears that the version of it given in the original manuscript in this place was *Guiribecci*, which reading we find just afterwards.

[6] A bourg in the arrondissement of Alençon. The first lord of this place of whom there is any mention was Roger de Carrouges, who lived in the time of Henry II. The probability is that Walter was placed in charge of the place by the sovereign, and that it had not yet become a feudal property.

[7] Écouché was a domain of the lords of Gournai, which they acquired

by the inhabitants, who abandoned the place, and fled from it, leaving the enemy, who advanced cautiously, only smoke and ashes. The garrison of Asnebec[1] concluded a truce for a year; as Robert de Neubourg, lord of that castle, was an acquaintance of Geoffrey, and, through Count Amauri, had long been on terms of intimacy and friendliness with him.

The Anjevins marched towards the fortress of Montreuil,[2] and assaulted it three times; but, being stoutly resisted by the garrison, they gained nothing but wounds, and retired, leaving many of their men dead. Richard, surnamed Basset, who, during the life of King Henry, attained great power in England, where he was chief justiciary, had a small fief, his paternal inheritance, in Normandy; on which, in the pride of his English wealth, he sought to magnify himself above his countrymen and equals by the grandeur of his works. He, therefore, built a very strong tower of squared stones at Montreuil; but on the king's death, William de Mont-Pinçon[3] presently took possession of it, fortified it with men and arms, and, as I have already noticed, manfully repulsed the assaults of the Guiribecs.

The Anjevins then invested the castle called Moutiers-Hubert, and, having defeated Paganel,[4] the commandant, who had committed many outrages that same year, obtained possession of the place, and exacted a heavy ransom from the castellan and thirty men-at-arms.

through Basilia Fleitel, as part of the inheritance of Ralph Tête-d'Ane, her first husband, who died without leaving any issue.

[1] Saint Georges-d'Asnebec, near Écouché. It came into the possession of the lords of Neubourg as their share of the vast inheritance of Roger de Beaumont. Henry of Warwick, Robert's father, confirmed the donation made to St. Wandrille by Roger Beaumont, of the churches of Asnebec, Ranes, and Faverolles.

[2] Montreuil-au-Houlme, in the same neighbourhood. We find from what follows that it gave origin to the family of Richard Basset, who filled so distinguished a post in the affairs of England during the reign of Henry I., when he was great justiciary. (See vol. iii. p. 328, *note.*) He married Matilda Ridel, a granddaughter of Hugh, earl of Chester, whose father perished in the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef.*

[3] Mont-Pinçon, near Livarot. In passing by, Argentan, the count of Anjou gave the command of it to Enjuger de Bohun, and that of Domfront to Alexander.

[4] Most probably William Paganel, the eldest brother of Ralph Paganel, sheriff of Yorkshire; Moutiers Hubert having always belonged to the elder branch of that family, of which it was doubtless the cradle.

Afterwards, while the feast of St. Michael the Archangel was celebrated, the enemy's army undertook to lay siege to Lisieux. But, while they were proceeding there by hasty marches, Waleran, Count de Mellent, and other Norman lords who were in the place, appointed Alan de Dinan[1] to defend the city with a stout garrison, while they went forth to be more at liberty to obtain succour for the besieged; but they watched from a distance, not without apprehension, the issue of the affair. Meanwhile, the Bretons, and other defenders of the place, observing the great numbers of the enemy long before they approached the walls, their courage failed, and they shrunk from either advancing to meet them or waiting for them in close combat. They, therefore, set fire to the city, and reduced it to ashes, thus warning the enemy, by their loss, against greater calamities. The enemy's army drawing near, and seeing the city, with all its wealth, in flames, were excessively enraged and grieved at their hopes of plunder being altogether frustrated by the booty they expected being consumed in the fire. Thus, they sorrowing learned the resolute character of the Normans, and admired the bitterness of their implacable hatred, which led them to prefer losing all their wealth in the conflagration, than to save it while they bent their necks to a foreign power.

However, the violence of the flames was such that they were unable to get near the fortress, or find any means of giving the assault. They, therefore, wheeled the horses round, and, turning towards Sap,[2] used every effort to obtain possession of the place. There had stood near the church of St. Peter the Apostle, from very ancient times, a

[1] One of the chiefs of the Bretons in the pay of Henry I.

[2] *Sap.* This place, situated in the canton of Vimoutier, is called in the great charter of Robert of Leicester, *le Sap de la Ferrière.* The name is not derived, as might be supposed, from the northern languages (in which Gran is the term for a fir or pine; *e. g.*, Greenwich, Groen-vigen! (the bay of pines) but is of purely Latin origin—*sapinus*, a fir-tree. It is also remarkable that names of places derived from this word are only to be found in Normandy. From the details given in the text, it might be supposed that Sap was a place of recent origin, but we find (vol. i. p. 391) that it was in existence a century before. Its additional name of Ferrières was given it from the vast quantity of iron ore which was smelted in forges there; of which the scoria are still to be seen in a great number of places in the neighbourhood.

tall pine tree, from the name of which, in the vulgar tongue, the vill was called Sap, a name still preserved by the bourg or castle standing there. It was to this place that the Anjevins directed their march on retiring from before Lisieux, hoping to take it by surprise; but they found the inhabitants drawn out to make a stout resistance, and prepared to give them a fierce reception. A sharp encounter ensued; during which the houses were set on fire by both parties, the inhabitants and the foreigners. This occurrence totally disheartened the defenders of the place. The church of St. Peter and the whole village was burnt to the ground, and numbers of those who still made resistance being wounded, the ruined tower was taken. It was occupied by Walter de Clare,[1] and Ralph de Coldun, his brother-in-law, who, with thirty men-at-arms, held it for a long time against the enemy; but, overpowered by numbers, and their strength being exhausted, they were at last taken in the tower; for nearly three thousand bowmen harassed them with their arrows, and a number of slingers launched stones like hail against the garrison, by which hurricane they were cruelly distressed.

The Anjevins remained in Normandy thirteen days,[2] securing by their irruption, not the dominion, but the eternal hatred of the Normans. Their expedition did not bring on a general engagement, because the Normans had at this time no prince; but the enemy, making inroads here and there, plundering and burning, were defeated by the peasants, and their forces being diminished by the number of their comrades whom they lost in different ways in their various attacks, at last they took to flight. Innumerable

[1] This Walter de Clare was son of Gilbert de Clare, grandson of Richard de Bienfaite, and great-grandson of Gilbert, count de Brionne. Nothing is known of Ralph de Coldun, here described as his brother-in-law. He had only two brothers, Richard de Clare, and Gilbert, earl of Pembroke (the father of Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke and Strigul, the conqueror of Ireland); and a sister named Rohais.

[2] They entered Normandy on the 20th of September, and began their retreat on the 2nd of October; and reaching Maine on the 3rd, might reckon that they had spent these thirteen days much to their disgrace. We have seen them before Lisieux on the 29th of September, and on the 1st of October at Sap. According to our author, the retrograde movement commenced on the 2nd, which would make only eleven days in the whole, and twelve, if the correction proposed be adopted.

were the outrages they committed, and they justly suffered similar disasters. Exhibiting no reverence for sacred things, they even impiously trod underfoot the sanctuary of the Lord, and, as if they were heathens, insulted the priests and ministers of God. Some of them, they irreverently stripped of their vestments before the holy altars, and others they slew while they were ringing the bells and invoking God. Nine parish priests went to the count at the same time, and made lamentable complaints of the violation of their churches and the pillage of the sacred vessels and ornaments. On hearing this account, honest men, and such as feared God, deeply lamented these occurrences; and in consequence, when Sap was attacked, the chiefs issued orders to the whole army, proclaimed by a herald, to prohibit the profanation of sacred objects. But, in such a great multitude, there were numbers of reckless thieves, who set at nought the orders of the chiefs; for, free bands and sturdy plunderers had joined the expedition with no other intention but, like wolves, to devour those who devoured others. Undisciplined vagabonds assembled, like kites, from all quarters, however distant, for no other object than pillage, slaughter, and conquest. Meanwhile, the leaders, who ought to have conducted properly their several commands in the expedition, lost sight, I think, in this warfare, of the rigour of Roman discipline, and did not use the moderation which heroes employed even in the animosities of war. Hence, nearly all disgraced themselves, I think, by scandalous actions, without any regard to what was right, and giving way to every sort of wickedness, jeoparded both their souls and bodies, and rendered themselves abominable in the sight of God and man.

The Anjevins slaughtered flocks and herds, and ate the flesh raw or half-cooked, without either salt or bread. The hides they attempted to carry off into their own country in a number of carts. Though, it being the season of autumn, provisions were abundant, and after a long peace under a good prince, the province was smiling with plenty, so that there was no lack of supplies of corn, fruits, meat, and food of all kinds; cooks and bakers were wanting for the service of so great a multitude; and in the disorders of a warlike expedition, the administration of many things of the first

necessity for the use of man was found deficient. The Guiribecs, who, after their profanation of sacred things, had gorged themselves with crude eatables, were, by God's just judgment, attacked with bowel complaints, and suffered so severely from diarrhœa that, leaving foul tokens of their passage along the roads, numbers of them could scarcely crawl home.

At last, on the calends [1st] of October, while making an assault on Sap, which was vigorously opposed by the garrison, Count Geoffrey was severely wounded by a dart in his right foot; the pain of his wound and the discomfiture of his host giving him some experience of the animosity of the Normans. The same day, towards evening, his wife joined him with a reinforcement of several thousand men, but it was too late. The next morning, at daybreak, the Angevins made a sudden retreat, while the inhabitants of the whole country round were stricken with terror. Thus, the fugitives were in dread of those who trembled before them. However, they fled in all haste, ravaging the lands of their enemies as well as their allies. It was late before the Normans discovered their flight, and they were much grieved at not having pursued their enemies and driven them out of the country. Only Enguerrand de Courtomer,[1] with Robert de Médavi[2] and a few other men-at-arms, occupied the fords of the Oldon,[3] where they stopped many men and horses, and carts laden with bread, wine, and other effects; and forcing the Angevins to throw themselves into the stream in terror of death, where there was no ford, many of them perished in the depths of the Oldon. The count, who had entered Normandy on a foaming steed, with threats in his

[1] He was surnamed l'Oison, *The Goose*. Robert de Courtomer, his father, gave the church of St. Stephen at Courtomer to the abbey of St. Martin at Séez in 1089.

[2] This lord was the son, or certainly the representative of Hugh de Médavi, mentioned at the end of the eleventh book. About the year 1230, Agatha, *domina de Meso-Davi*, brought this domain to the house of Aunou the Falconer.

[3] Now called the Don, which unites with the Orne in the neighbourhood of Almenesches. It was probably between Marmouillé and Surdon that the Angevins attempted to cross the river. There was a ford at Chaillouet; but it was probably defended by the Normans who held the castle of Chaillouet.

mouth, was now brought home pale and groaning, and carried in a litter. But, on his return, he lost more by his own people than by the enemy; for, as he passed through the wood of Maleffre,[1] the count's chamberlain was assassinated, and his trunks, containing his state dresses and precious vessels, were carried off.

CH. XXVII. *Robert de Conches makes irruptions in the diocese of Evreux—He is taken prisoner, with others.*

WHILE the Angevins were ravaging the territory of Lisieux in the manner already described, and, raving like heathens, were committing the most execrable crimes, without any fear of God, Robert de Conches in the diocese of Evreux laid waste the neighbouring country, carrying the devouring sword and fire through the whole district. He had in his company William de Percy, Eustace's son, Roger le Bègue[2] and count Ferri,[3] and they occupied the attention of count Waleran and all the military force of the territory of Ouche, to prevent their marching against the Angevins. Roger made a vigorous attack on the castle which the count de Mellent had built at La Croix-Saint-Leufroi, and though he could not take the castle, he and his companions in arms violated, though not with impunity, the abbey long ago built by St. Ouen in honour of the holy cross which he had seen in heaven; committing it to the rule of the blessed Leufroi.[4] They burnt the monk's bourg, assaulted

[1] *Sylva quam Malasiam vocant.* The woods of Malleffre, an ancient castle and fief in the commune of Arçonnai, department of La Sarthe. They were so extensive, that they nearly reached the territory of Mont-Sor, in the suburbs of Alençon, on the left bank of the Sarthe. Henry II. built a castle there called Beauvoir.

[2] Roger le Bègue, lord of Grossœuvre, son of William Louvel, lord of Ivri.

[3] We shall find presently this person called Ferri d'Etampes, and that his wife brought him the title of count. Who she was is not known, and all that we know of Ferri is a charter of his in favour of the priory of Longpont, in which he is called *Fredericus, filius Pagani de Stampis, qui fuit comes.*

[4] This is not quite exact. St. Ouen on passing this spot, on his way from Rouen to Clichi, in 683, had raised a cross and deposited some relics there in memory of a miraculous cross which he had seen in the heavens; but the abbey was not founded till some years afterwards by St. Leufroi, a native of the diocese of Evreux, and a disciple of St. Saens.

the church, dragged out the monks who fled for concealment to their cells in the interior of the monastery, and plundered the effects of the monks, and of those who had taken refuge with them. But by the avenging hand of the most righteous God, he lost all shortly afterwards. For the day after the retreat of the Angevins, which was the third of October, Roger suddenly made a furious irruption, and laid waste the rich country in the neighbourhood of Vaudreuil; murdering, plundering, and burning, without respect of persons; and reduced numbers to misery by stripping them of all they possessed. He also burnt the church of St. Stephen,[1] but received the punishment of his crime the same day. For on the Saturday,[2] about vespers, while he and his companions were returning, carrying with them in great pomp, a large booty and many prisoners, Count Waleran and Henry de Pommeraie,[3] with five hundred men-at-arms issued from the neighbouring woods,[4] and ranged themselves in order of battle against the enemy's band. Roger de Conches, who was very intrepid and courageous, had with him but a small force, having sent forward William de Pacy and Roger le Bègue to Acquigni with their troops, plunder, and captives. However, he made a brave though fruitless resistance, until overpowered and borne down by numbers he was forced to yield, and being made prisoner, with count Ferri, and Robert de Belesme surnamed Poard,[5] he mourned his misfortune, which filled his enemies with joy, and brought security to the peasants in the neighbourhood. While Ferri d'Etampes groaned in prison, his wife, in whose right he had the title of count, went to the court

This place has also been called la Croix d'Helton, from the name of the proprietor of the land where the abbey was founded; and *Monasterium Madriacense*, from the name of the district in which it stood on the banks of the Eure.

[1] St. Stephen of Vauvrai. This church, which is passed in going to the railroad at Louviers, is for the most part Romanesque; and it seems that it was not entirely destroyed, or that it was immediately rebuilt. It belonged to the abbey of Fécamp, to which it was given by Richard II.

[2] The same day, Saturday, October 3.

[3] This is the same Henry Pommeraie who commanded the garrison of Pont Autou, and engaged with the Count de Meulan at Rouge-Moutier, in 1124.

[4] The woods of Vaudreuil.

[5] See before, p. 162.

of King Lewis at Paris, and being pregnant, she injured herself in riding during her journey back, and soon afterwards died in a difficult child-birth.

How sudden are the vicissitudes of the present life! The joys of the world soon pass away and vanish in the twinkling of an eye from those who pursue them with the greatest ardour. Temporal honours are like bubbles which burst and disappear in an instant, and only disappoint and deceive those who set their hearts upon them. The lovers of the world, pursuing corruptible things, become corrupted as they tread the downward paths of vice, and being quickly clogged with mire sink to the bottom. With toil and difficulty they attain their lofty honours, and puffed out with vain glory, their fall is sudden, and nothing remains of what they were, but well-sounding speeches dropped concerning them here and there from eloquent lips amongst those who survive them. The Omnipotent Creator, therefore, teaches mankind, and gives them salutary instructions in various ways, not to fix the anchor of their hopes in the sea of this fleeting world, nor to attach themselves fatally to transitory pleasures that have no profit. "We have here no abiding city," as the apostle says, "but we seek one above."[1]

CH. XXVIII. *Death of several bishops—Their successors—Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, visits Normandy—its wretched state—An interdict laid on the territories of William Talvas.*

IN this bissextile year, there were many changes in the world after the death of king Henry, and many persons, both of the clerical and lay orders, and of the middle and lower classes, were snatched away.

At this time died Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, a man of deep learning, who had a great reputation and much influence at the court of Rome in the times of the popes Paschal, Gelasius, Calixtus, and Honorius. Also, Guy d'Etampes, bishop of Mans, departed this life; and was succeeded by Paganus, the archdeacon, a native of Saint Calais.[2] More-

[1] Hebrews xiii. 14.

[2] Guy d'Etampes, bishop of Mans, died on the 7th of February, 1136. It does not appear why our author calls his successor Paganus. Perhaps, it was a surname. He certainly bore the name of Hugh de Saint-Calais,

over, Anselm, abbot of St. Edmondsbury, and nephew of archbishop Anselm, was appointed in place of Gilbert, surnamed the Universal,[1] bishop of London, who was lately dead. On the death of William,[2] archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, King Stephen's brother,[3] was chosen to govern the metropolitan church, but as according to the canons, a bishop cannot be preferred from his own see to another, without the authority of the Roman pontiff, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester crossed the channel during Advent, and dispatching envoys to pope Innocent at Pisa, spent the winter himself in Normandy.

There he learnt, from the melancholy accounts of the sufferers, the atrocious crimes committed by abandoned men in the bissextile year; heard doleful complaints of the sad events which filled Normandy with grief, and had the means of seeing with his own eyes undoubted evidences of these calamities: such were—houses reduced to ashes, churches unroofed and void, villages in ruins and depopulated, and the whole people sorrowing on their mother's bosom, insolently stripped of the necessaries of life, plundered both by their own countrymen and by foreigners, because they had no protectors, and still without the consolation of having the presence and support of a fitting ruler.

Still more grievous persecutions of various kinds awaited unhappy Normandy. In the diocese of Séez, a papal interdict,[4] was put in force over all the territories of William

because he was a native of that place, or belonged to the family of its lords. It was never the seat of an archdeacon.

[1] Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London (1127), did not die in 1136, as our author states, but while on his journey to Rome some time between the 8th and 12th of August, 1134. The election of Anselm to succeed him having met with opposition, he returned to his abbey at St. Edmund's, as before related.

[2] On the 21st of November, 1136.

[3] Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, and legate of the see of Rome. This ambitious prelate failed in his project, if indeed he ever seriously prosecuted it. The English cotemporary historians do not mention it. Theobald, abbot of Bec, was soon afterwards raised to the archiepiscopal see, with the consent of King Stephen, at a synod held in London, under Alberic, the pope's legate.

[4] This interdict on the diocese of Séez appears to have been issued in 1136. John, the bishop, though he had been loaded with benefits by Henry I., was one of the most zealous partisans of the usurper Stephen. He only,

Talvas. The sweet chaunts of divine worship, sounds which calm and gladden the hearts of the faithful, suddenly ceased; the laity were prohibited from entering the churches for the service of God, and the doors were kept locked; the bells were no longer rung; the bodies of the dead lay in corruption without burial, striking the beholders with fear and horror; the pleasures of marriage were forbidden to those who sought them; and the solemn joys of the ecclesiastical ceremonies vanished in the general humiliation. The same rigorous discipline was extended to the diocese of Evreux, and enforced through all the lands of Roger de Toeni, in order to terrify and restrain the perverse and disorderly inhabitants.

Meanwhile, Roger himself lies fettered in close confinement, weeping and groaning for the loss of his liberty of action, and cursed by the church for the use he insolently made of that liberty, when he had it, in the profanation of sacred things; and all his lands lie under a terrible interdict. Thus proud and desperate rebels are doubly crushed; but the hard hearts of those who witness such spectacles, alas! are not changed nor converted to amendment of their perverse designs.

CH. XXIX. *A severe drought—Sufferings from it.*

IN the year of our Lord 1137, the fifteenth indiction, there was such a severe drought throughout the world as no one in our times had witnessed before. In many places the springs were exhausted, the ponds and cisterns were dried up, and the streams ceased flowing. Men and beasts suffered the torments of thirst. In some districts they went as far as seven leagues for water, and some who were carrying it home for themselves or their families on their shoulders perished on the road from the excessive heat.

CH. XXX. *King Stephen goes to Normandy, and is invested with the duchy—The Count of Anjou marches an army into Normandy—Stephen, deserted by the Norman lords, concludes a truce—The Flemings in his pay.*

KING STEPHEN arrived in Normandy during the third week

of all the bishops of Normandy and England, attended the council assembled at the Tower of London by Stephen in 1141. However, he was reconciled with William Talvas in 1143.

in March, and landed at La Hogue with a large retinue. The news of his coming filled with joy the hearts of the poor people, who for a whole year had been left to oppression and desolation.

At the same time William, duke of Poitiers, touched with remorse for the evils which he had lately inflicted on Normandy, went in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James. Then, on the sixth day of Passion Week, the fifth of the ides [9th] of April, having received the holy communion, he died most piously before the altar of the blessed apostle. His commands were that his daughter should be married to Louis le Jeune, king of France, and he appointed the king heir of all his states: and this was afterwards carried into effect.

Some of the Norman lords having raised disturbances against King Stephen, he called in the aid of the French and Flemings to reduce them to submission. In the month of May, King Stephen had a conference with King Lewis, and being invested by him in the duchy of Normandy as a fief of the crown of France, made a treaty of alliance with him on the same terms as his predecessor had done. Being now more securely established, on his return he took arms against the rebellious Rabel, and besieging his fortresses of Lillebonne,[1] Villers,[2] and Mésidon, he carried fire and sword into them with his own troops, and the allied forces his auxiliaries.

Then Geoffrey of Anjou entered Normandy at the head of four hundred men-at-arms; and, taking service on his wife's behalf, carried on an active campaign. Commencing hostilities in the beginning of May, he prosecuted them with great cruelty, chiefly selecting the district of Exmes for the theatre of destruction by fire, pillage, and slaughter. He burnt the castle and church of Basoches, the property

[1] Lillebonne could not belong to the chamberlain Rabel. It was a favourite seat of the dukes of Normandy; *sedes regia, a dominis Normannorum multum amata et frequentata*, says Robert du Mont in his chronicle, under the year 1161. The word "his," therefore, could not apply to this castle. Our author may have confounded it with that of Tankerville, which stood close by.

[2] Villers-Chambellan, near Duclair.

of Roger de Moubrai,[1] where sixteen men perished in the flames. The monks of Dive[2] paid one hundred and ten silver marks to the count of Anjou, and thus saved their lands from utter ruin. In like manner, the monks of Fécamp ransomed Argences[3] for one hundred marks. At this time Robert, earl of Gloucester,[4] and some others were suspected of favouring the enemy; but the garrison of Caen faithfully preserved their allegiance to the king, and safely guarding the fortress, Geoffrey and his troops were compelled to retirefrom Gué-Beranger[5] without obtaining any advantage. There William d'Ypres and his troops were eager to engage with the Angevins, but as the Normans were jealous of him,

[1] Basoches-au-Houlme. This lordship was still called the honour of Moubrai, when the register of Philip Augustus was made.

[2] The monks of St. Pierre-sur-Dive.

[3] The priory of Argences.

[4] Robert, earl of Gloucester, possessed vast domains as son-in-law and heir of Robert Fitz-Hamon. He had gone over to England in 1136, in much embarrassment what line of policy he should adopt towards Stephen, but finding that he could not for the time make head against the king, who was very popular, and freely lavished the immense wealth which he derived from the treasury of Henry I., he swore allegiance to Stephen, but with the reservation, "so long as he was left undisturbed in his rights and dignities, and the king kept his covenants with him." The earl foresaw that it would not be long before he should be relieved of his engagement by some breach of faith on the part of the usurper, which happened within a year after. See William of Malmesbury's Modern History, p. 492, for an able view of the earl's position at this time.

[5] This place is mentioned in the history of Normandy as near the field of battle of Valesdunes, and as having given access to Duke William's junction with the king of France in 1047. See the Roman de Rou, t. ii. p. 30. M. De Caumont places it on the Muance, near Argences; but M. Le Prevost thinks, in common with Mr. Stapleton, that the ford was on the Semillon, between Vimont and Bellengreville, where it is found in the excellent map of the diocese of Lisieux by Danville.

There was a fair at Gué-Beranger, the profits of which amounted to seven livres in 1180, so that it must then have been a place of some importance.

Here it was that the Angevin army received a check from the presence of William d'Ypres and his Flemings. It appears to have marched from the Hiémois by the road through St. Pierre-sur-Dive, which joins that of Lisieux at the Gué-Beranger. If King Stephen had been still engaged in his expedition against Mésidon, that encounter between the two armies, for which the English king showed so much impatience a month afterwards, must now have taken place.

and refused to support his movements, he drew off his forces, and abandoning his faithless allies, joined the king beyond the Seine.

King Stephen, having concluded a peace with Rabel, went into the district of Evreux, and thrust Roger de Conches out of the prison in which he had been confined for six months;[1] but he imposed upon him severe conditions in punishment for his outrageous conduct. Rotrou, count of Mortain, and Richer de L'Aigle he gained over to his side, by granting them all that their greedy ambition coveted To the count he gave the castle of Moulins,[2] and Bonmoulins[3] to Richer, and having thus secured their allegiance, he opposed them to his enemies on the frontier of Normandy; thinking it more politic to make small sacrifices as the means of preserving what was more important, than by attempting to grasp all, to run the risk of losing his adherents and the support they could render him. He had great confidence in William d'Ypres and the other Flemings,[4] and showed them great favour; at which the Norman lords were much incensed, and withdrawing themselves with address from the king's service took every means of privately

[1] Reiner de L'Aigle was made prisoner in October. His captivity must, therefore, have lasted more than six months.

[2] Moulins-la-Marche.

[3] Bonmoulins. The last heir of these two castles perished, as we have seen, in the shipwreck of the Blanche-Nef. King Henry lost no time in taking possession of them and completing the fortifications. Those, indeed, of Bonmoulins appear to have been entirely his work.

[4] The Flemings in the pay of King Stephen. It must not be understood that he had disbanded his other auxiliary troops, the Bretons; but they were chiefly employed in England, where they were suffered to pillage the country with impunity. William d'Ypres was a willing instrument in all the king's boldest and most unscrupulous enterprises. There was work found for him and his Flemish bands in England also, among the other scourges of that unhappy country in these disturbed times. But he appears to have been a merely mercenary leader of condottieri, and was the first to fly at the battle of Lincoln. There is a curious passage in the Royal MS. of Henry of Huntingdon's History, unpublished in Saville's text, which represents the earl of Gloucester as saying before the battle: "Hitherto I have said nothing of that runaway William d'Ypres, for words have not yet been found to describe fitly the wiles and crooked paths of his treasons, and the disgusting loathsomeness of his impurities." His earlier career in his own country was stained with treachery and blood, as we have already seen in the preceding book, p. 88 of this volume.

annoying the Flemings, of whom they were jealous.[1] The country people became, therefore, the prey of many disasters. Many fell by the sword of the enemy, and others met their fate from an unexpected quarter.

In the month of June, King Stephen went to Lisieux, and assembled there a large force with the intention of laying siege to Argentan, or some other fortress where he should fall in with Geoffrey of Anjou, being very desirous to bring him to a general engagement. But his lords were averse to it, and did all in their power to dissuade the king from giving battle. In this expedition there arose a violent quarrel between the Normans and the Flemings, who came to blows, and there was a dreadful slaughter on both sides. This threw the whole army into disorder, and most of the leaders left the camp without taking leave of the king; each body of vassals following its own chief. The king, seeing his troops retire without facing the enemy, chafed with fury and pursued the deserters as far as Pontaudemer. There he overtook and detained Hugh de Gournai,[2] the youthful William de Warrenne,[3] and other hot-brained young lords, using his utmost address to mollify them either with fair words or by working on their fears, but he did not succeed in soothing their malevolent and crafty minds. Wherefore, as from certain circumstances he held them in suspicion, he did not venture to recall them to the war, but adopted the wiser counsel, as some think, of making a truce with the enemy for two years.[4] In consequence, by God's assistance, in the month of June peace and tranquillity were restored to Normandy. The unarmed people, who had been dispersed, returned to their cottages, and for a time remained

[1] The earl of Gloucester having followed Stephen to Normandy at Easter, William d'Ypres was employed by the king to involve him in snares, from which, however, he escaped. Stephen had recourse to all sorts of unworthy humiliations in his attempts at reconciliation with this powerful nobleman, who remained in Normandy after his own departure thinking himself more safe there, and in a better position to profit by the course affairs might take.

[2] Hugh III. de Gournai.

[3] William de Warrenne, earl of Surrey.

[4] By the terms agreed on, Stephen was to pay yearly five thousand marks to the count of Anjou. He, also, engaged to pay his own elder brother Theobald, count de Blois, two thousand marks yearly, in compensation for his prior claim to the throne of England.

quiet, and enjoyed some measure of security and repose, though in great indigence.

Ch. XXXI. *The last hours of Abbot Warin—His death and epitaph—Richard of Leicester elected abbot.*

Meanwhile, Warin, abbot of St. Evroult, after serving God under the monastic rule for forty-three years, being now sixty-three years of age, made a happy end. On the seventeenth of the calends of July [15th June] he sang mass with great devotion in the morning, and buried the corpse of a soldier; but in the course of the day he took to his bed, and lay dangerously ill for five days, during which the sick man heard mass daily said, an office which he had regularly performed himself for the thirty years of his priesthood. Seeing now that he was going the way of all flesh, he earnestly sought the viaticum for the great journey, and prepared to present himself at the court of the Most High King of Sabaoth by confessing his sins, with tears in his eyes, earnest and constant prayer, the holy unction and the life-giving participation of the Lord's body. At last, strengthened with these great aids, he departed on the eleventh of the calends of July [21st June], and having performed all that belonged to the faithful champion of Christ, and commended himself and his spiritual sons to the Lord God, fell asleep in the fifteenth year of his government. Gilbert, abbot of the monastery of Séez,[1] was present at his death, and joined the sorrowing brethren in paying the last offices to their lamented father. The clouds of tribulation were gathering over the whole province, at the time that Abbot Warin, the son of Robert and Giselle, was snatched away, and buried in the chapter by the side of the tomb of Abbot Osbern. On his death, the monks of St. Evroult all assembled and held a general conference to provide against any lapse in the administration of the affairs of their monastery. Then on St. John Baptist's day, while

[1] Gilbert, the abbot of St. Martin of Séez. His father's name was Fridebourg. During his administration, Michael, bishop of Tarasco, gave to the abbey a church in the territory of Tudela, probably in acknowledgment of the services rendered by the soldiers of the diocese of Séez, and especially by Robert Burdet (before mentioned, p. 114) to the Christians beyond the Pyrenees.

they were celebrating the feast of the saint, they held a chapter, and taking into consideration the rule of St. Benedict, and the charter granted them by William, duke and afterwards king, in concert with the bishops and lords of Normandy, as well as the privileges and ancient customs of the church, the brethren unanimously elected Richard of Leicester,[1] a learned, pious, and eloquent monk, eminent for many great and illustrious gifts. He was absent at the time, and there was no one in that assembly connected with him by ties of kindred. He expected nothing of the kind, being laboriously employed in rural affairs in England for the service of the monks. Some time before he had been sent there by his abbot, and for the last six months had been diligently engaged on ecclesiastical business. Having been a canon of Leicester for nearly sixteen years, he had acquired a knowledge of the English people and language; and before his profession was long resident at the court of Robert, earl of Mellent, who employed him as judge of his causes, keeper of his conscience, and privy counsellor in transacting his affairs. The monks, taking into their consideration these and other proofs of his worth and fitness to rule, elected him to govern their church; and their choice was ratified by King Stephen and his great lords.

The monks of St. Evroult, always devoted to their masters and superiors, placed a white stone over the grave of the venerable Abbot Warin; and for the love which I bore to my oldand dear associate, and afterwards my spiritual father, I composed the following epitaph to be engraved upon it:

> Hac tegitur petra Guarini corpus et ossa,
> Qui quater undinis utici monachus fuit annis.
> Certator fortis contra tentamina carnis,
> Dante Deo, celebris micuit virtutibus almis.

[1] Richard had the surname of Leicester, from his having before he embraced the monastic life, been for sixteen years one of the secular canons of the chapter of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, at Leicester, which was converted into an abbey by Robert the Hunchback, in 1143. This college was founded by Robert count de Meulan [earl of Mellent] his father. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* speak of Abbot Richard as an Englishman by birth, but our author's account of him conveys clearly a contrary impression.

De grege, pro meritis, a fratribus ad moderamen
Sumitur, ut sociis ferret speciale juvamen.
Annis bis septem veneranter floruit abbas,
Inter præsentes, sitiens æterna, ruinas.
Viginti soles Junio complente, recessit
Hic pater a vita, subjectis flentibus, istâ.
Cuncta regens nomen det ei super æthera lumen!

Beneath this stone good Abbot Warin lies;
Loved for his virtues, gentle, pure, and wise;
God gave him grace, for twenty years and two,
To war with fleshly lusts, a monk of St. Evroult.
Then by the brethren, to their special aid,
Elected for his worth, and abbot made,
Revered, he ruled this house for years twice seven,
Till, 'mid a ruined land he sighed for heaven.
June's twentieth sun was sinking in the west,
When father Warin found his long sought rest,
His loving flock surrounding him in tears;
God give him light above the starry spheres!

Ch. XXXII. *Death of Louis le Gros, and accession of Louis le Jeune—Troubles in Normandy—Exploits of Richard the Forester and Gelduin of Dol—King Stephen returns to England—A conspiracy there crushed.*

During the months of July and August the world was burnt up with excessive heat, which lasted till the ides of September [13th September], and occasioned various kinds of fatal maladies with which mankind were afflicted. At this time King Louis sent for his son Louis Florus,[1] and appointing as his guardians Theobald, count palatine, and Ralph de Péronne, dispatched him with the army of France into Aquitaine, to marry the daughter of the duke of Poitiers, and take possession of the duchy, according to the will of the late Duke William.

Meanwhile, King Louis fell sick in the forest of Gros-Bois, from the effects of the great heat of the summer;[2]

[1] This surname is often given by Ordericus to Louis le Jeune.

[2] See before, p. 148, what our author says of a former attack of the same malady, diarrhœa, which brought Louis le Gros to his end on August 1, 1137. These attacks appear to have been caused by the intemperance to which Louis's father, as well as himself, was addicted. "Need I speak," says Henry of Huntingdon in his admirable *Letter to Walter*, to which we have often referred, "of Philip king of France, and Lewis, his son, both of whom reigned in my time; whose God was their belly, and, indeed, a fatal enemy it was; for such was their gluttony, that they became

and, his illness increasing, departed this life on the second of the nones of August [4th August], and was buried with royal pomp among the kings of France in the abbey of St. Denis the Areopagite. On the following Sunday the boy Louis was crowned at Poitiers,[1] and thus succeeded to the kingdom of France, as well as the duchy of Aquitaine, which none of his ancestors had held.

In Normandy the peace was broken by the turbulent Roger le Bègue,[2] and King Stephen led an army against him, and got possession of his castle called Grosœuvre in the territory of Evreux. This forced the rebellious freebooter to sue for peace with the king, and, after much suffering, that country had rest for a while. Afterwards the king razed to the ground the stronghold of Quitri in the Vexin,[3] which was a den of thieves. In consequence, William de Chaumont and his son Osmond took arms against the king, and, to the ruin of their house, resolved on hostilities.

In the territory of Avranches, Richard, surnamed Silvanus,[4] built a very strong fortress at Saint-Pois; and having

so fat as not to be able to support themselves. Philip died long ago of plethora; Lewis has now shared the same fate."

The French historians make Louis die at Paris, and it is possible he may have been conveyed there from the forest of Iveline, near Rambouillet, which M. Le Prevost says is the place mentioned here. In the text it is called *Grandis Sylva*, literally, Gros-Bois.

[1] Louis Le Jeune, here described as *puer*, was seventeen years old at this time. He was on his return after marrying Eleanor of Guyenne at Bordeaux, when he received the news of his father's death. On Sunday the 8th of August, he was crowned at Poitiers, not as king of France, as he had already been crowned by Innocent II., but as duke of Aquitaine.

[2] Roger Le Bègue, lord of Grossœuvre (Grandis Sylva), near St. André, of whom we have spoken before, p. 170.

[3] Quitri, between St. Clair-sur-Epte and Andelis. We have already spoken of this place and its lords. It is this William de Chaumont who appears to have married a natural daughter of Louis le Gros. A charter of his exists, under the date of 1119, in the chartulary of St. Peter at Chartres. His son Osmond II. is little known.

[4] *Ricardus cognomento Silvanus.* The French editors of Ordericus have been unable to discover the origin of this person, and consider him one of the adventurers who rose to importance in those troublesome times. We find him, however, in the possession of a castle and vill; and it is remarked that in the inquest made by Robert earl of Gloucester, after the death of Bishop Richard II., of the fiefs held of the see of Bayeux and the services due for them, there is found a "William son of Silvanus," who held five knights' fees (a considerable domain) under Hugh de Montfort, out of

collected marauders from all parts, after the death of King Henry, made a cruel slaughter of the people of God. He continued his ravages for a long time; God, however, when he would, suddenly struck him down with the strength of his avenging arm. For this freebooter having sallied forth on a certain day, intent on pillage, during his absence a band of soldiers from the castles in the neighbourhood set on fire the village of Saint-Pois.[1] Silvanus seeing the smoke of his burning village, put spurs to his horse, and wheeling round, hastened back with his followers by the road he had come. Swifter than them, he was the first to encounter the enemy; and being thrust through the body by the lance of a man-at-arms, he fell dead on the spot. Then the royal troops advanced to the fort, and summoned the guard to surrender the tower to the king. As they would not obey this demand, the others showed them the corpse of their deceased lord, which they cast with ignominy before the gate. The garrison perceiving this grievous misfortune, were struck with terror; and having surrendered themselves and the fort to the royal troops in gloomy silence, buried the body of the deceased by the road-side, out of the cemetery.

At the same time the Bretons flew to arms under Gelduin of Dol,[2] their leader in every outrage, and made an inroad

eight which Hugh himself held of the bishop. *Silvanus*, as every one knows, is equivalent to Forestarius, and in the Domesday book a *Ricardus Forestarius*, who came in with the Conqueror, appears as holding *in capite* five manors in Staffordshire. From the identity of both the christian and surname it may be conjectured that this Richard Forester was the father of, or otherwise nearly related to, the Richard mentioned by our author. The Richard of the Domesday Book had a son, Ormus le Guidon, the founder of the family of Biddulph, who took the name from the principal estate in Staffordshire. The conjecture derives some slight confirmation from Ormus having married a daughter of Nicholas de Beauchamp, the viscount, whose family were seated at a place of that name very near Richard's castle of Pois, in the Avranches.

[1] *Apud Sanctum Paternum.* The place intended by our author is not that celebrated as the abode and burial place of St. Paternus, bishop of Avranches, which appears to have, in early times, borne the name of *Sessciacus*. Richard's castle and vill stood at a place now called Saint-Pois, in the canton of Sourdeval, forming part of the old diocese of Avranches, while Saint Pair-sur-Mer belongs to that of Coutances.

[2] This adventurer, a leader of mercenary bands in Stephen's pay like William d'Ypres, was a Breton, and probably a native of Dol.

on the domain of St. Michael the archangel, in-peril-of-the-sea, and the adjoining territory.[1] Taking much booty at various times, they inflicted grievous losses on innocent people. But after causing the peasants great damage, the divine vengeance scattered this band of robbers by crushing their head. On a certain day the fierce Gelduin led an expedition of one hundred and forty men-at-arms, with a large body of foot-soldiers, and having seized a vast quantity of plunder, and a number of captives, began to return in great triumph; but the reflux of the tide kept them all on the shore. Meanwhile, roused by the cries of the poor people, twenty Norman men-at-arms came in pursuit of the robbers. Upon this, Gelduin hearing the shouts in the rear, turned against the pursuers with ten horsemen, having no defensive armour except their shields. The Normans charged them fiercely, and the Bretons giving way and taking to flight, Gelduin was slain before he could join the main body of his comrades. The routed freebooters lost their plunder, and making their escape had lamentable tidings to carry back to their friends.

Thus was unhappy Normandy torn by such storms as these, mangled by blows mutually given by the swords of her own sons, and plunged in grief by the slaughter perpetrated on all sides. She suffered the most cruel calamities, and had daily to apprehend still worse evils, because she saw, to her sorrow, the country left without a governor. In this state of affairs, King Stephen received intelligence of intestine disturbances among the English, in consequence of which he lost no time in crossing over to England during Advent,[2] taking with him the counts Waleran and Robert, with nearly all the great Norman lords. However, he appointed William de Roumare, and Roger the viscount,[3] with

[1] Mount St. Michael stands at the extreme frontier of Normandy. The Bretons even assert that in ancient times it formed part of their province, and was separated from it by a change in the channel of the Couesnon, a river which has frequently varied its course. This gave rise to the following couplet:—

"Couesnon, par sa folie,
A mis le Mont en Normandie."

[2] It appears that it was very near Christmas: *in ipso vestibulo Natalis Domini.*

[3] Roger II. viscount of the Cotentin, brother and successor of Nigel III.

others, justiciaries, commanding them to accomplish what he had been unable to effect in person, namely, to do justice to the inhabitants, and procure peace for the defenceless people.

On his return to England he found the kingdom in a very disturbed state, and a hotbed of cruelty and bloody treason. For some pestilent men had formed a conspiracy, and encouraged each other by clandestine plots to the wicked enterprise of massacring all the Normans on an appointed day, and giving up the government of England to the Scots.[1] This treason was first divulged to Bishop Nigel[2] by some of

At his death his estates passed to his sister Letitia, who married Jourdain Taisson.

[1] The French editors of Ordericus question at least the ultimate object of this conspiracy, to which, they remark, the advanced age and pacific character of the king of Scots did not promise much success. They, also, observe with truth that, in the spring of 1136, the two kings, meeting in the north of England, had come to terms. But David had then invaded Northumbria and taken Newcastle, and was only deterred from prosecuting his advantages by the overwhelming force brought against him by Stephen. When the two kings met at Durham, David refused to do homage to Stephen, alleging his oath of fealty to the empress Matilda, but he allowed his son Henry to swear allegiance to the king of England. There is no doubt that the king of Scots from the first fomented the troubles in England in the interest of Matilda, who was his niece, though; not as our author intimates, in his own. The pacification now made was only a hollow truce, and when the great English lords broke into open revolt two years afterwards, the Scots, in concert with them, invaded the north of England, and after committing great atrocities, formed part of the army which was signally defeated at the battle of "the Standard," which our author notices in its place. The author of *Gesta Stephani* says that, at first, David prudently waited the result, watching in silence the course of events; but Henry of Huntingdon relates the irruption of the Scots into Northumbria, in the first month of Stephen's usurpation, and the occurrences at Durham just mentioned.

[2] Nigel, bishop of Ely, nephew of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was advanced to the bishopric "after Whitsuntide" [May 28th], 1133, by the especial favour of Henry I. Both Nigel and his uncle were two of the most powerful prelates and able statesmen of those times. Though it appears from the fact here stated by our author that he was the principal means of nipping in the bud, for the moment, the rising disaffection of the English nobles, we shall find him afterwards in arms against Stephen.

But Bishop Nigel is most distinguished by having been one of the greatest financiers of the middle ages, and the founder of the system of keeping the public accounts in England. See the *Pipe Rolls* of the 31st year of Henry I., where he often appears under the name of *Nigellus nepos episcopi*; and there is little doubt that this valuable record was made under

the conspirators, and communicated by him to the other bishops and peers of the realm, and the royal officers and ministers. Many of the traitorous conspirators were thus detected; and, being convicted, suffered the penalty of their atrocious crime by death on the gallows, or other kinds of capital punishment. Some, however, being sensible of their guilt, fled before they were informed against, and, accused by their own consciences, abandoned all their possessions and honours, and went into voluntary exile. The more powerful of those who were concerned in the rebellion took courage to make a bold resistance, and formed a league with the Scots and Welsh, and other disaffected and disloyal people, for the ruin of the English nation.

CH. XXXIII. *Affairs in the East—Fulk, King of Jerusalem, defeated by the infidels—Besieged in the castle of Mont-Real—Crusaders march to his relief.*

AT this time pilgrims arrived from the eastern parts, who spread through the countries of the West gloomy reports, which deeply saddened the hearts of the faithful who were inflamed with the love of God and their neighbour. They brought the news that, in this same year, Pons, count of Tripoli,[1] had fought a battle with the Gentiles in which he and many others fell by the sword. This so much encouraged Amir-Sanguin,[2] king of Aleppo, that, assembling his forces during the autumn, he marched with a great army into the territories of the Christians, and putting his troops in battle array, challenged them to fight. On hearing this, Fulk, king of Jerusalem, sent messengers into every part of his kingdom, and summoned all who were able to bear arms to join his standard, so that he led to battle nearly six thousand men; leaving only the women and unarmed clergy in charge of the towns; all others were commanded to march to the war without admitting any excuse.[3]

his direction. After having had the glory of creating the English exchequer under Henry I., he lived to restore it under Henry II., after the troubles and waste of the reign of Stephen had thrown it into disorder. He survived till 1169.

[1] Pons, count of Tripoli, the second husband of Cicely of France, fell, as our author relates, this year, 1137. He was slain under the walls of his own castle of Monte Pelegrino, in an engagement with the infidels.

[2] Emadeddin Zenghi, sultan of Moussoul and Aleppo.

[3] The details of these transactions in the East, like those given by our

At length the two armies met, and, an engagement following, both sides fought with great bravery. Thousands of the Pagans fell without number, but by a judgment of God, all whose decrees are just and righteous, nearly the whole Christian army was annihilated, all, except thirty knights and men-at-arms, being cut in pieces. The king only, with ten of his own household troops, and eighteen Knight-Templars, escaped from the slaughter and, took refuge in a certain castle which Baldwin I. had built before Damascus, called Mont-Real, where they stoutly defended themselves for a while, though they were closely besieged. Thus the whole army fell for the faith of Christ, except the few who, as already said, escaped with the king with much difficulty.

Sanguin, elated with his victory, although it was accompanied by the loss of so many thousands of his own troops by the swords of the Christians, pursued the fugitives and laid siege to the castle, pressing the remnant who had escaped and defended the place with repeated assaults of different kinds. The besieged, in the midst of great straits to which they were reduced, suffered most from famine, and being in want of bread, were forced to satisfy their hunger with horse-flesh and other kinds of unclean and unheard-of food. In this state of want, the king himself became steward, and served out to each of his comrades morsels of the flesh of asses and dogs.

Meanwhile Ralph, the bishop of Jerusalem, having heard of the calamitous condition of his friends, was greatly distressed, and reflected deeply on the means by which he might afford relief to the beleaguered martyrs. First he paid visits to all the pious recluses who, intent on heavenly meditations, dwelt within the walls of Jerusalem, and implored them to join their earnest prayers with those of the other inhabitants of the holy city to the Lord Saviour of

author towards the end of his tenth book, were probably derived by Ordericus from the reports of pilgrims, partaking of the inexactness and colouring which would probably be conveyed from such a source; and he had no time to correct them from better materials before the close of his historical labours. Among other incongruities, one may be mentioned as a specimen of the rest; namely, the existence at this period of a patriarch of Jerusalem named Ralph, while William de Malines filled that see from 1130 to 1144 or 1145.

all mankind for the common welfare of his people. He, then enjoined the same on both the clergy and laity, and instituted a fast by all for three days, not exempting women and children, or even the beasts, from this suffering, which resembled that of the Ninevites. This fast having been observed with willing and devout obedience, the patriarch proceeded to a seaport, and there, by God's will, that which he most desired met his eyes.

He saw from afar four ships full of men nearing the shore, and by the sign of the cross of salvation which he perceived on their mantles, discovered that they were Christians. Full of joy, he waited till they arrived in port, and respectfully saluted them as they disembarked from the ships. As soon as they had reached an open spot, he thus addressed them: "Ye are truly blessed and beloved of God, for the heavenly court expects you to become partakers of its blessedness. Lo! now if a pure faith burns within you, doubtless an opportunity of martyrdom is offered to you similar to that for which the holy champions of Christ, George and Theodore, Demetrius and Sebastian, devotedly contended against Satan and his crew, and gloriously conquering them after a sharp encounter, received in triumph the eternal crown from the King of Sabaoth. I pray that a like fortune may attend you, and that he may bestow on you a like reward!

"Know, then, that the cruel Sanguin and his Gentile army lately invaded our territories, and having cut in pieces the army of Christ, are now closely besieging the king of Jerusalem with a few of his followers in a certain castle, and try all methods of forcing them to surrender. Our people, hoping in God, endeavour to make a stout resistance, and not unmindful of the wondrous things wrought by heaven, expect from thence speedy help, choosing rather, in the Lord's name, to follow their comrades in death, than, while life remains, to submit with ignominy to the yoke of the Gentiles. You have now heard enough of the circumstances, and as you are men of prudence and feeling, you will understand what I wish, and what is necessary, to be done in such an emergency."

At these words all willingly offered to march against the Pagans, and desired to succour their besieged brethren

with all their strength. Thereupon the joyful patriarch said: "We render thanks to God, the Almighty Adonai, who ever vouchsafes to relieve his people with ready consolation. Now, therefore, you who, for the love of heaven, have quitted your native land, leaving your beloved wives and long-sought wealth, and encountering many sufferings by sea and land, have come hither, following the example of the saints, take the shield of faith, and succour the sanctuary of God which you have sought from afar. The Lord is with you who brought swift consolation to the besieged in Bethulia by the hands of a woman; for by Judith, a widow, he cut off the head of the proud Holophernes, and overthrowing the Assyrians, refreshed in his goodness his thirsty people, giving them a victory which loaded them with vast spoils, and magnifying them above all the surrounding nations. By the prophet Ezechiel he promised security to King Hezekiah when he was shut up in Jerusalem, and the night following caused the destroying angel to consume a hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians, and put to a shameful flight the haughty king Sennacherib, who had uttered blasphemies and atrocious threats. Consider these and many other such divine operations, and trusting in the power of God, march to the battle."

Having thus instructed the Christian bands with salutary admonitions, he led them in arms against the Turkish troops. The sentinels of the Pagans perceiving a large army of Christians advancing from the sea, immediately reported it to their prince, who sent able and eloquent envoys to meet the strangers, and inquire diligently who they were, and whither they were going. They replied: "We are Christians; we desire to succour with all our might our brethren who, we hear, are besieged by the Pagans, and we ardently wish to avenge in battle the others who are slain." They were desired, in reply, to rest quiet for the present, and be ready for battle in three days.

In the meantime, the crafty Sanguin demanded a parley with King Fulk, and among many wily proposals spoke thus: "I greatly compassionate your nobleness, and as you are a king, would save you if you will suffer me. I know perfectly your position and the weakness of your force. You, and all who are shut up with you, are enfeebled by

famine, nor can you expect relief from any quarter. Make peace, therefore, with me; surrender the castle and all who are in it, and I will let you go free." Fulk replied: "Far be it from me to become a traitor to my brethren. This I am resolved never to do; on the contrary, I will hold out with them even to death, and patiently expect the end of the struggle." Sanguin then said: "Confer with your followers, and take advice which is profitable to you and to them. I will spare you because you are a king and ought to be honoured. Give up the castle and all the prisoners you have taken from us, and receive in exchange all we have of your people, and then, having sworn to a firm peace, depart freely with all your men."

Fulk, having heard this proposal, went back to his comrades, and telling them all that the tyrant had said, asked them what he was to do in their present distress. They, being ignorant that relief was near at hand, hastened in their anxiety to give him their advice. They recommended that the Turks should be released for the deliverance of the Christians, and the fortress of Mont-Real be delivered to the people of Damascus, to save the besieged from the peril of death, and that Jerusalem, the holy city, might not be exposed to the mockery of the Gentiles for want of a protector. Thereupon, King Fulk, swayed by his fears, accepted the advice of his comrades, and concluded the peace proposed by the Gentiles, to which he swore. Sanguin received the fortress and his nephew, who had been taken prisoner; and on his part he released the Christian captives whom he kept in chains. Then the tyrant in triumph and derision said to Fulk: "You have been outwitted, O king!" showing him the camp of the Christians who had come to his relief. But, although the faithful were afflicted at this perfidious conduct, the agreement could not be altered. Pledges having been given, the king, the patriarch, and the faithful on both sides met together, and demanded permission of the tyrant to bury their brethren who had fallen in the conflict. Sanguin having consented, they searched for the bodies of the slain, and carefully gave them honourable interment; but they could not draw from their fingers their gold rings. The survivors, therefore, gave devout thanks to the Lord Almighty, and reverently

laid in the earth the martyrs of Christ, without stripping them of their ornaments.

CH. XXXIV. *The emperor, John Comnenus, lays siege to Antioch—Raymond's night attack—Negociations, which terminate in Raymond's doing homage for the principality to the Greek emperor.*

AT the same time, while the people of Jerusalem were thus miserably afflicted by the Gentiles, and Raymond prince of Antioch, and other brave soldiers, having heard the distress of their brethren were hastening to their relief, John, the emperor of Constantinople, levied an army throughout all his dominions, which are wide enough, and laid siege to Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, claiming it as belonging to his empire.[1] This Raymond, who then held the principality, was son of William duke of Poitiers. After the death of King Henry, the duke went to the East, where he married the daughter of Baldwin the younger, whose hand was bestowed on him by Fulk, his cousin; and by the bounty of God, he acquired for himself a large principality in Syria. Raymond was proceeding by hasty marches to the relief of the king of Jerusalem, as I have just said, when he received on the road intelligence of the emperor's approach to lay siege to Antioch. Struck with dismay at this threatening storm, he immediately retraced his steps with the troops that attended him, and hastened to the succour of his people who were shut up in the city, trembling in the absence of a protector. Drawing near to the

[1] Events are still so disfigured in this part of our author's narrative, that instead of attempting to correct it, we must refer the reader to the historians of the crusades. It is perfectly true that Raymond, the eldest son of William VII. count de Poitiers, and consequently uncle of Eleanor of Guyenne, went to the east in 1137, and that King Fulk gave him his young daughter Constance in marriage, with the principality of Antioch for her dowry. It is also correct that the Greek emperor, John Comnenus, sat down before Antioch in 1138, but, touched with compassion at the perils which surrounded the Latin princes in Palestine, consistently with his noble character, as traced by Gibbon, he contented himself with receiving the homage of Raymond, and joined his arms to those of the Christians. The death of Fulk king of Jerusalem, was not caused by the privations he suffered during a siege in which he acted as steward to the garrison, as our author tells us in the preceding chapter, but by his horse falling while he was hunting a hare on the plains of Ptolemais.

place, and being apprehensive that he could not break through the besieging army and force his way in, he consulted with his friends upon the matter, and one of them who I think was truly magnanimous, said: "We know full well that the Greeks are of consummate prudence, and surpass other nations in eloquence; but under difficulties they fail in spirit and courage. Hence, brave comrades and tried warriors, if you are willing to follow my advice, manfully put on your armour, and penetrate in silence, under arms, through the Greek army to the very tent of the emperor, as if you were part of the imperial troops. Then raise terrible shouts which shall reach the emperor's ears, and boldly declare who you are."

On hearing this, the others were inspired with courage to undertake the dangerous enterprise, and under cover of night gallantly executed the plan of the magnanimous soldier. The Franks, having penetrated to the imperial tent, raised loud cries, and began to deal heavy blows on all who opposed them. Buried in false security, the emperor's army were suddenly roused by the fierce shouts of the Franks, and their panic was such that they were thrown into disorder; and not knowing what to do, abandoned everything and fled for three miles, as if each saw a sword threatening his throat. Duke Raymond, seeing the Greeks and their emperor flying, halted his troops, being unwilling to pursue such a host with his small force; and setting bounds to their triumph, he entered his city, and by God's grace filled the hearts of the citizens of Antioch with joy. When the sun rose, they went out and found vast stores of wealth in the tents of the Greeks, which they greedily pillaged, and carried off their plunder with joy to the city.

Meanwhile, the emperor resting from the fatigue of flying with his army, indignant and in confusion, inquired by whom he had been routed; and was much ashamed when he learned the bold enterprise of the Aquitanians, and its successful issue. Having collected his scattered troops, he invited the prince of Antioch to a conference. The brave warrior who had before advised the attack, now recommended the duke not to reject terms of accommodation, as it would not only be honourable, but greatly advantageous, to treat for peace. Raymond assented and on his proceeding to the

conference the emperor said to him: "The city of Antioch belongs to the empire of Constantinople. Prince Bohemond did homage to my father, and, with the other western lords, swore that all the territories which the Turks had dismembered from it, and which he should recover, he would restore to the holy empire. I demand, then, from you, who now call yourself prince of Antioch, the fulfilment of this contract, and claim the restoration of this city belonging to my empire, the possession of which you usurp." Raymond answered: "I will not argue with you on the covenant made by our ancestors. I received this city from the king of Jerusalem with the prince's daughter, and I promised him fealty as my lord. I will, therefore, make known your demands to him, and shall obey his directions in all things, and will not deliberate on this affair without his instructions."

Upon his saying this, the emperor approving Raymond's intention of preserving his fealty to his lord, agreed to a truce, to allow of his communicating with the king of Jerusalem, and inquiring of him what he should do consistently with his loyalty. The matter was laid, by Raymond's envoys, before the king, who was then sick; whereupon, having considered it with his intimate friends, he replied: "We all know, as we have heard long since from our forefathers, that Antioch belongs to Constantinople, and was taken from the emperor by the Turks fourteen years ago, and subjected to themselves; and for the rest which the emperor alleges respecting the treaties of our predecessors, it is true. Ought we to deny the truth and resist what is right? Certainly not; especially when I am confined by a severe infirmity, which disables me from affording aid to my cousin. In truth, the toils and sufferings to which I was exposed, and the improper sustenance I was compelled to take, while unhappily besieged in Mont-Real, have brought on me a fatal malady, under which my comrades also suffer, and it prevents my assisting my cousin in the war. Knowing, therefore, the excuse I have, return to your lord, and tell him from me to make peace with the emperor, and by my order accept the investiture of Antioch from him as its rightful suzerain, and so loyally hold it; for the emperor is a Christian, he is very powerful, and honoured by the Franks. If he be so disposed, he can render them great services."

The envoys, on their return, reported the king's reply in suitable terms; and the two princes concluded a peace advantageously to the pilgrims, and to all the faithful in Christ who dwelt in Greece and Syria. Raymond, therefore, received the investiture of Antioch as the vassal of the emperor, who promised him his alliance and support against Damascus and all the Gentiles. Thus a war, which had lasted to no purpose for forty years, and undertaken and carried on by the Bohemonds and their successors against Alexis, was the cause of thousands being thrown into captivity or slain, and of much loss, was now, by the mercy of God, brought to an end under the princes, John the emperor, and Raymond of Poitiers, to the great joy of numbers on both sides.

CH. XXXV. *Lewis le Jeune crowned at Bourges—The antipope Peter Anaclete dies—The emperor Lothaire invades Apulia.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1138, the first indiction, Lewis le Jeune, king of France, was crowned on the feast of the nativity at Bourges,[1] where a great concourse of the nobles and commons assembled from France and Aquitaine, as well as from the other neighbouring countries. There, were gathered the metropolitans and their suffragan bishops; and there, flocked counts and other men of rank, and did homage to the new king.

Peter Anaclete, who for nearly seven years had usurped the apostolical see, died sudenly while sitting in his chair on the eighth of the calends of February [January 25th].[2] It is said that his corpse was conveyed away privately by his brother's, Peter Leon's, sons, who had great authority at Rome; so that no one knew where it was buried.

In the month following, a report was widely spread of the death of Roger duke of Apulia,[3] who had been crowned

[1] We find no other notice of this coronation at Bourges; but there are full accounts of the difficulties which occurred in the election of the archbishop of this see in 1140.

[2] Peter Anaclete died on January 25, 1138.

[3] Ordericus, or his copyist, had originally written this sentence in the form of a positive assertion of the duke's death. *Sequenti quoque mense, Rogerius Apuliæ dux, defunctus est.*

king of Sicily by the schismatical pope, and receiving his sister's hand in marriage, had been his instrument in disturbing the peace of the church. The emperor Lothaire having received intelligence of Roger's death went into Apulia with much haste and took measures for bringing it under submission to himself, according to ancient custom and the constitution of the Roman empire.[1]

Ch. XXXVI. *King Stephen returns to England—Lays siege to Bedford—The truce in Normandy broken—Partisans of the empress—Stephen's governor of the duchy slain.*

Meanwhile, King Stephen, having arrived in England, and learned the plot which some persons had entered into against the common welfare of the realm, was so indignant that he took arms unadvisedly against the rebels and, against the advice of his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, laid siege to Bedford;[2] but as it was the season of Christmas, and the winter was very rainy, after great exertions he had no success; indeed, the sons of Robert de Beauchamp[3] defended the place with great resolution, and until the arrival of the bishop, the king's brother, rejected all terms of submission to Stephen. Not that they resolved to deny the fealty and service they owed to him as their liege lord, but having heard that the king had given the daughter of Simon de Beauchamp[4]

[1] It is possible that reports of Roger's death were spread in 1138; but they were without foundation, as he did not die till 1154, and as the emperor's invasion took place the year before, it could not have originated in these rumours.

[2] The siege of Bedford was undertaken on Christmas eve, in 1137, to the great scandal of all England. The author of *Gesta Stephani* gives a good account of the obstinate resistance made by Milo de Beauchamp, and the family circumstances out of which it arose.

[3] This Robert Beauchamp was viscount of Arques in 1108. See before, vol. iii. p. 431.

[4] This lady must have been the niece of Paganus de Beauchamp, to whom the barony of Bedford was granted by William Rufus. Our genealogists are, therefore, wrong in representing Simon de Beauchamp as having died without issue. Hugh the Poor, created by Stephen earl of Bedford, was the third son of Robert, earl of Mellent; and it was through the great influence of his brother Waleran with King Stephen that the king imprudently embarked in this rash enterprise. Nor was it any wonder that the sons of Roger de Beauchamp should oppose the alliance of their cousin-german with a person of such mean substance as this Hugh; an alliance, also, which conveyed large domains out of the family.

in marriage to Hugh, surnamed the Poor, with her father's lordships, they feared that they should lose their whole inheritance, and, by the advice of their friends, made an obstinate resistance. At length, when five weeks after the bishop came to Bedford, they submitted, and following his advice, which they thought good, and by his help, they were reconciled to the king and surrendered the place.

In Normandy, Raymond de Dunstanville,[1] a son of King Henry, disturbed the Cotentin, and, taking his sister's side, supported the Angevins. He was joined by Baldwin de Reviers[2] and Stephen de Mandeville,[3] with other enemies of King Stephen; but Roger the viscount vigorously opposed them, and protecting the country, gallantly distinguished himself by his resistance to their treasonable enterprises. At first he seemed very formidable to the enemy, but in the vicissitudes of this world no power is of long duration. His enemies, envious of his success, laid snares for him, and plotted his destruction. One day they sent out light troops to pillage, while some men-at-arms lay in ambush, eagerly waiting to take his life. Shouts were raised, and Roger and his men seized their arms, and pursuing the plunderers loaded with booty, fell into the hands of the party who lay in ambush. They burst from their lurking-place like hungry lions, and fell on the others unawares, butchering Roger without mercy, though he loudly called on them to spare his life, and made great promises. The governor being slain, the whole country was reduced to a state of desolation, and the savage fury of the freebooters exercised on the peasants is to this day unbridled.

In the month of January,[4] Simon the Red, a son of Bald-

[1] Raymond de Dunstanville, one of the natural sons of Henry I., was afterwards created earl of Cornwall. He took his name from a place in the neighbourhood of Dieppe, either from having been born there, or because it was given to him as an appanage.

[2] Baldwin de Reviers, lord of Néhou, often mentioned before. He had been driven out of England, in 1136, after an obstinate defence of Exeter Castle, the details of which are described in the *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 337—344.

[3] Stephen de Mandeville was probably the son of Robert de Mandeville, an ally of Prince Henry (afterwards Henry I.) in the Cotentin, while he occupied that country.

[4] 1138.

win,[1] by leave of Robert Giroie,[2] took possession of the castle of Echoufour,[3] and gathering a band of retainers, began to ravage the territory of Robert earl of Leicester, in the diocese of Evreux. This Simon was a most active soldier, bold and enterprising, liberal to his comrades, indefatigable in hardy exercises, and, therefore, ready to hazard the most difficult and cruel attempts. As soon as he began to ravage the country, his brother joined him in his outrages, and received him into his fortress called Pont Echanfré. Thereupon, William Fresnel[4] and his six brothers, and Alain de Tanée,[5] and Ernald the count's steward,[6] with the garrison of Glos,[7] rose in arms and burnt Pont Echanfré, Montreuil,[8] and the neighbouring bourgs. Both sides became so infuriated, and all were plunged into such a sea of wickedness, that no respect was paid to consecrated places, nor did they spare men of religion, innocent peasants, or women, nor keep their hands and hearts unstained by crime, even during the holy season of Lent.

The truce for two years, concluded between the king and Geoffrey of Anjou, was broken in various ways. During Lent, the partisans of the countess seized Ralph d'Esson,[9] a powerful man, and delivered him to their lady to be kept in confinement. She detained him for a considerable time, and refused to release him until he placed his fortresses in her hands. On the other hand Engelran de Sai [10] and other

[1] He must have been a nephew of the valiant Ralph the Red, a devoted servant of Henry I., who perished, as we have seen, in the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef*. Here we find three families who remained faithful to the lawful heiress of their late sovereign in the midst of the prevailing perjury and treason. Unfortunately, we cannot say as much of our author, who warmly espouses the cause of the usurper.

[2] Robert Giroie, lord of St. Céneri.

[3] Échoufour, a castle and bourg in the neighbourhood of St. Evroult. See note to p. 288, vol. ii. It stood on the confines of the diocese of Evreux.

[4] William Fresnel, lord of La Ferté-Fresnel.

[5] Tanée is a hamlet halfway between St. Evroult and Cisai-Saint-Aubin.

[6] Evnald du-Bois-Arnaud, steward of the earl of Leicester.

[7] Glos-la-Ferrière, in the same neighbourhood.

[8] Montreuil-l'-Argillier, the property of the family of Giroie.

[9] Esson is in the canton of Thierri-Harcourt. The family of Tesson gave the church of this parish to the abbey of Fontenai.

[10] Engerrand de Sai, near Argentan. We are now carried back to the

adherents of the king, perseveringly tracked Reynold and Baldwin outside the castle of Houlme, and coming to close fight with them, took Baldwin and several other prisoners. On this occasion, when the battle was at its height, and it appeared doubtful on which side victory would turn, some of the kinsmen and friends of Roger the viscount, having found the time and opportunity for revenge, drew the sword against their own party, and slaying several of his murderers, procured the honour of victory for the opposite side; thus as the Lord has said, "He that draweth the sword shall perish by the sword." And see how this fierce band who shortly before cruelly butchered Roger, the son of Nigel, were suddenly attacked by his friends, and fell in the midst of their own party.

About the same time, Thierri, count of Flanders, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of King Stephen, and putting into his hands the whole county of Flanders, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem,[1] and on his return . . . . the boy to whom he had betrothed his daughter.[2] . . . .

CH. XXXVII. *Hostilities renewed in Normandy—The earl of Gloucester inclines to the side of the malcontents—The English nobles openly revolt—Inroad of the Scots, who are defeated.*

IN the month of May, Count Waleran and William d'Ypres took ship, and sailing over to Normandy endeavoured to relieve that afflicted country. They first took arms against Roger de Conches, but in the changes of fortune they found that warlike knight prepared to resist them. They, there-

Cotentin, where we find again Reynold de Dunstanville, Baldwin de Riviers, and his castle of l'Isle-Marie.

[1] None of the details given in this paragraph are correct. Thierri, count of Flanders, did not give his daughter in marriage to Eustace, the son of King Stephen; nor did he put him in possession of Flanders, when he went to the Holy Land in 1139; but he left it to his son and heir, Philip.

[2] The latter clause of this sentence, from "Jerusalem" to the end, was added to the original text in the MS. of St. Evroult, and afterwards erased. Duchesne omits it; the MS. of Dupuy reads, *filiam spoponderat mortuum invenit*, "[to whom] he had betrothed his daughter, he found dead." In Dom Bouquet. for the last two words, we read, *bellis exercet*; "he makes war on."

fore, turned their fury on the peasants, and both of them taking to plunder, devastated the whole district, burning and plundering as they went, so that even the necessaries of life being pillaged, the unarmed people were reduced to want. In the month of June, Geoffrey, count of Anjou, entered Normandy with a body of troops, and by entreaties and promises drew over to his side Robert, earl of Gloucester, through whom Bayeux, Caen, and several other towns submitted to him.[1]

In England, the bishops and several lords of castles hearing that the earl, who was very powerful in both countries, supported the party of Anjou, openly avowed the evil designs which they had hitherto secretly entertained, and broke into rebellion against the king. In the month of July Count Waleran and William d'Ypres, distressed at finding the enemy prevail through intestine treason, and that the Normans, who had been conquerors in foreign lands, were often trodden down at home, called in to their assistance Ralph Péronne,[2] with two hundred men-at-arms, and assembling other auxiliary forces from all quarters, determined to march against the Angevins. But Robert de Courcy[3] dispatched a messenger in all haste to Count Geoffrey with information of the designs of his countrymen, and recommended him to lose no time in withdrawing from Normandy, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity of advancing his cause. On receiving this intelligence he drew off his troops in great alarm, so that the enemy, who had mustered a large body of men, were extremely disappointed at the sudden retreat of the army of Anjou. But in order that a thousand soldiers might not appear to have been embodied to no purpose, and return home without any feat of arms, they marched towards Caen, wasting the country all around; and tried to draw the garrison out of the place. But Earl Robert had

[1] The earl acted with great prudence, and still held aloof, as we find in the sequel of this chapter; but his hostility to Stephen was scarcely disguised. Caen appears to have been his principal seat, beyond sea; whence the Normans called him Robert de Caen.

[2] Probably the son of that Simon de Péronne who was engaged against Henry I. at Pontaudemer in 1123.

[3] Courci-sur-Dive. We have before had frequent occasion to notice this place and its lords. This Robert must have been the son of Robert de Courci, and son-in-law of Hugh Grantmesnil.

great fears of both factions in the present quarrel, and, therefore, wisely shut himself up in the castle with a hundred men-at-arms. Only forty horsemen sallied out, and meeting the enemy in a narrow byeway on the banks of the Orne, an engagement ensued, which was sharply fought on both sides. There Robert Bertrand[1] and John de Jors,[2] two noble and handsome knights, were slain, and many of both parties were wounded; for whose misfortune numbers were plunged into grief.

This earl of Gloucester, whose defection had been the cause of these serious disturbances, possessed, through the grants made him by his father, King Henry, great power in England, where he had at his command wealth, fortresses, and fierce vassals. He was keeper of the castles of Gloucester and Canterbury, and possessed himself the very strong fortresses of Bristol,[3] Leeds, and Dover.[4] Hence the

[1] Robert Bertrand of Briquebec, the second of that name.

[2] Jean de Jors, near Coulibeuf. In book V. our author calls this place Jort; he ought to have given the right orthography of the name, as his abbey possessed property there.

[3] Bristol castle was the earl's principal seat in England. He added greatly to its exterior fortifications, and rebuilt the interior with regal magnificence. There, his sister Matilda held her court, and King Stephen was held in captivity.

[4] Of the castles mentioned in this paragraph, Robert held Gloucester in right of his earldom; but Milo, afterwards created earl of Hereford, was constable of it under Robert, his liege-lord, as Flor. of Worc. calls him. Bristol (*Brihstou*), the earl of Gloucester's principal seat and fortress in the West of England, will be noticed in the course of the narrative. In what right, or how, the earl became possessed of Canterbury and Dover castles does not appear. He did not hold them long.

Leeds (*Ludas*) is not the place of that name in Yorkshire, the Latin name of which is Loidis, and in that neighbourhood the earl had no holding, but Leeds castle in Kent. This is further suggested by its contiguity to two other important fortresses mentioned in this sentence. Our author speaks of it again, at the close of the paragraph, by the name of *Eslcdas*, without any intimation of its being the place he had just called *Ludas;* but that it is the same is proved by an entry in the Domesday-book, *Adelbold tenet de episcopo Esledes.* After the Conquest, it had been granted to Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and on his forfeiture, the Conqueror gave it to Hamon de Crevecœur, one of the eight knights who held lands by castleguard, and had the charge of Dover castle. It afterwards passed to the family of Fairfax. We also find in Roger de Hoveden's enumeration of the castles held by Robert, earl of Gloucester, one called *Sledas.* The earl took possession of it in 1137, but, as Lambard tells us in his

revolt of his numerous partisans was a great injury to the king; and, excited to fury, they caused great disturbances in the neighbouring provinces, which they ravaged in all manner of ways.

First, Geoffrey, surnamed Talbot,[1] seized the city of Hereford, and there assembling his guilty associates, raised the standard of rebellion against the king. Walkelin, surnamed Maminot, held Dover;[2] Robert, son of Alured de Lincoln, the castle of Wareham; Morgan, the Welshman, Usk;[3] and William de Mohun, Dunster.[4] The young William, surnamed Peverel, had four castles, namely, Bryn, Ellesmere, Overton and Geddington;[5] and, elated at this, he augmented the force of the rebels. Ralph Louvel held the castle called

Dictionary, Stephen recovered it in the following year; and this agrees with what our author relates just below.

[1] Geoffrey Talbot, second of that name. He was the son of Geoffrey I. and Agnes. On this person and his family, see before, vol. iii. p. 452. We shall presently find him driven out of Hereford; and there is a curious account of an enterprise of his at Bath in *Gesta Stephani*, p. 351.

[2] Walkeline Maminot belonged to a family settled in Kent, which had litigations with Archbishop Lanfranc concerning certain invasions of the property of that see. This Walkeline, as well as Gilbert Maminot, the bishop of Liseux so often mentioned by our author, must have been descendants of the famous knight, Roger de Courbépine. Walkeline figures in several acts in the time of King Stephen, one of which, in the *Monastic. Anglican.* ii. 522, proves that he was a nephew of William Peverell. Walkeline Maminot was another of the eight knights who held lands in castle guard for the defence of Dover castle.

[3] *Morgan Gualus, Ucham:* M. Delisle having thus corrected the text of Duchesne, which reads, *Guarham et Morguan Gualcelmus Ucham*, we relinquish our first impression, that the place was Oakham, in Rutlandshire (which, indeed, we never find written in Latin *Ucham*), and naturally look for it in Wales, or on the borders. Was it Usk, where there was "a large and strong castle," called by Girald. Cambr. *castrum Oschæ?* or could it be Oxwich or Pennarth Castle, below Swansea? This conjecture derives some confirmation from Oxwich having belonged to the lords of Gower, of whom Robert, earl of Gloucester was the representative, in right of his wife, the daughter of Robert Fitz-Hamon.

[4] *Gulielmi de Moun, Doverstorium:* Dunster castle, near Watchet, on the Bristol channel, the seat of the Moiun, or Mohun family.

[5] *Brunam, Elesmeram, Ovretonam, et Guitentonam.* Of these four castles belonging to William Peverell, there is no difficulty about Ellesmere in Shropshire. Overton we find to be one of the chain of border castles already referred to. There are no traces of it remaining; but it stood on a high bank above the meadows bordering the river Dee in Flintshire.

Cari, and William Fitz-John fortified Harpetro;[1] and joining the other rebels, did his utmost to create confusion in his native land. Besides, David king of Scots was induced to support the pestilent disturbers of the kingdom in favour of the Angevin party, either by the perfidious invitation of the factious by whom he was called in to ravage the country, or by the oath of fealty to his niece, which he had taken at the command of King Henry. He held Carlisle,[2] a very strong fortress, built, as they say, by Julius Cæsar, and had placed a very fierce band of Scots in garrison there. These made a cruel inroad into England, and carrying war into the neighbouring districts, exercised on the people the barbarity natural to their race in the most brutal manner. They spared no one, butchering young and old, all alike, and even ripping open the bowels of pregnant women whom they slaughtered.[3]

According to tradition, it had been the residence of Madoc-ap-Meredyth, king of Powys. After the Conquest, it was granted to Robert Fitz-Hugh.

Guitenton is not Geddington, a royal seat in Northamptonshire, as we were at one time led to believe from its being near Malton, another castle, held by Eustace Fitz-John in the same cause, but Whittington in Shropshire. This castle, formerly belonging to Tudor Trevor, was, after the Conquest, held by Roger, earl of Shrewsbury; and on the forfeiture of Robert de Belèsme, granted to William, sister's son of Paganus Peverell. Warine de Metz, a noble Lorrainer, won the daughter of William Peverell, with the lordship of Whittington, in a tournament at Peverell's Place, or castle of the Peak, and their posterity, the Fitz-Warines, held this castle for four centuries.

Brunam would seem to be a version of Bryn; and there are several places of that name on the border, where we should naturally look for it in connection with the other castles here named. We rather think, however, that the place intended is Burne castle, in Cambridgeshire, the ancient barony of the Peverells.

[1] Castle Cary and Harptree are in Somersetshire, S.W. of Bristol and Bath. In the *Gesta Stephani*, p. 355, there is an account of both these castles being besieged and taken by Stephen.

[2] To this list of castles held by the adherents of Matilda, Henry of Huntingdon adds, besides Malton already noticed, Ludlow, held by Paganus, and Shrewsbury, by William Fitz-Alan, the reduction of which our author presently relates. We owe to the editor of the recent Paris edition of Ordericus, the expression of our regret that the identification we supplied of the castles mentioned in this paragraph was, in some instances, less correct than that which has resulted from further inquiries.

[3] The English historians concur with our author in attributing these barbarities to the Scots in this irruption.

Notwithstanding, King Stephen turned his sharp sword against this band of rebels, numerous as they were, and those he could not gain by gifts and promises he reduced to submission by the strong hand of his forces. Robert de Stotesbury,[1] a brave and loyal knight, he made earl of Derby, and Gilbert de Clare,[2] earl of Pembroke; and by their mediation drew over to his side Walkelin Maminot and Louvel, who were friends or kinsmen of theirs. But with many of the rebels, as I have observed before, the courageous king was much enraged, and he tried to reduce the fortresses of his enemies by three expeditions. First, he laid siege in person to the city of Hereford, which stands on the river Wye on the border between England and Wales, and being favourably received by the citizens and people of the country as their rightful lord, he took the castle; and, Geoffrey Talbot being driven out, he mercifully spared the rest of the besieged.

The queen,[3] on her part, laid siege to Dover on the land-side with a powerful force, and sent word to her friends, kinsmen, and subjects at Boulogne to blockade the enemy by sea. The Boulognese willingly obeying their lady's commands, performed the service they owed her, and sent a great number of vessels to close the straits, which are narrow, and prevent the besieged from procuring any succour on that side. Meanwhile, Robert de Ferrers, who had

[1] *Robertum de Stotesburia.* Robert de Ferrers, as this person is called by our author shortly afterwards, took this name of Tutbury from the castle of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, which, with seven other lordships in Staffordshire and the earldom of Derby, was conferred by the Conqueror on Henry de Ferrariis, the grandfather of this Robert. For the family of Ferrers, see vol. i. p. 508, and ii. p. 376.

[2] Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke, father of Richard, Earl Strongbow. He died in 1148.

[3] Matilda, countess of Boulogne in her own right, a woman of great spirit, who not only by the help of her Boulognese now recovered Dover, but maintained her hold of the county of Kent during her husband's captivity. There were three queens in England at one time during these troubles: this Matilda, Stephen's queen; Alice, the widow of Henry I., who had married William D'Aubigny and lived in retirement at Arundel, where she hospitably received her daughter Matilda on her first landing; and the other Matilda, the empress-queen, if we may so call her, her title to the throne having been only partially recognized, and her reign lasting but a few months; indeed, it does not appear that she was ever crowned.

been appointed by the king earl of Derby, as I have already said, had a conference with his son-in-law Walkelin, and reconciled him with the king; whereupon he surrendered Dover castle, of which we have spoken. Gilbert de Clare also besieged "Esledas" castle,[1] and so pressed the garrison, that, at last, they surrendered.

William Fitz-Alan, constable and viscount of Shrewsbury, who had married the niece of Robert earl of Gloucester, wishing to do him service, revolted from the king and held the place just named against him for nearly a month. At last, in the month of August, overpowered by the king's forces, he took to flight; and the king stormed the place by a vigorous assault. Arnulf de Hesdin,[2] the uncle of this young man, a bellicose and venturesome soldier, arrogantly refused the peace which the king offered him on several occasions, and obstinately forced others who wished to surrender themselves, to persist in their rebellion. At last, when the fortress was reduced, he was taken amongst many others, and brought into the presence of the king, whom he had treated with contempt. The king, however, finding that his gentleness had lowered him in the eyes of the revolters, and that in consequence many of the nobles summoned to his court had disdained to appear, was so incensed that he ordered Arnulf and nearly ninety-three others of those who had resisted him to be hung on the gallows, or immediately executed in other ways. Arnulf now repenting too late, and many others on his behalf, supplicated the king, offering a large sum of money for his ransom. But the king preferring vengeance on his enemies to any amount of money, they were put to death without delay. Their haughty accomplices were greatly terrified when they heard

[1] *Esledas*, spelt by Duchesne Escedas, is, as we have seen in a recent note, Leeds castle in Kent, which our author before calls *Ludas*.. Gilbert de Clare, just mentioned as earl of Pembroke, to whom it was surrendered, held the neighbouring castle of Tunbridge which his ancestor, Richard de Bienfaite, received in exchange for Brionne, the hereditary fief of this family in Normandy. See vol. ii. pp. 490, and 492—3. Leeds castle, which stands on the high road between Maidstone and Ashford, still preserves much of its ancient grandeur.

[2] It seems clear that this person derived his name from Hesdin in Artois. He is called *Ernulf de Hesding* in a charter of the empress Matilda. See Rymer, i. 14.

of the king's severity, and came in haste three days afterwards to the king, offering various excuses for having so long delayed their submission. Some of them brought the keys of their fortresses, and humbly offered their services to the king; and thus, the seditious deserters being somewhat humbled, the lovers of peace rejoiced.

In the same week, a like good fortune smiled on King Stephen in another part of the kingdom. For the earl of Albemarle and Roger de Mowbray had an engagement with the king of Scotland,[1] and having put to the sword a multitude of the Scots, avenged the cruel slaughter which these people had made of the English without any respect for the Christian religion. The Scots, it appears, fearing the sword which threatened them, fled towards the water, and rushing into the river Tweed where there was no ford, in their attempt to escape death, met it by drowning.[2] After the war had continued for a length of time between the two kings, and it had been accompanied by great atrocities on the one side and on the other, to the general loss, envoys were sent, by divine inspiration, to treat of peace between the two kings, now weary of pillage and slaughter, as well as of continual anxiety and toil; and thus their alliance was renewed.

Henry, the son of David king of Scots, gave his full consent to this return of amity. He was much attached to Adeline, the daughter of William earl of Surrey, and demanded her in marriage. Cemented by this bond, his close connection with the Normans and English became permanent; for he perceived, on advising with prudent men, that it would tend much to the welfare and advantage of himself and his people.

[1] William, comte d'Aumale, Walter d'Espec, and Gilbert de Lacy, are joined with the earl by the English historians, as leaders of King Stephen's troops.

[2] This is the famous battle of THE STANDARD, fought at Allerton, in Yorkshire, in the month of August, 1141, of which a fuller account is given by Huntingdon and Wendover. Our author anticipates, in noticing it in this place. Indeed, he very naturally treats only in a cursory manner of events in England during these troublesome times; while his details of detached enterprises in Normandy, where every castle was a den of free-booters, are only rivalled by those which give so much interest to the work of the anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani*.

CH. XXXVIII. *Roger de Toeni burns Bréteuil—The count of Anjou foiled before Falaise, and at Touque-sur-Bonneville.*

MEANWHILE, the Normans were spending their fury in the bosom of their mother country, and crimes of all sorts were perpetrated in every quarter. On the 7th of September, Roger Toeni gathered a gallant band of men-at-arms, and burning to revenge the many outrages he had formerly received, attacked Bréteuil. The count of Hainault,[1] with eighty men-at-arms, Peter de Maule, with forty, and Simon the Red, with twenty, marched with him; and, besides, he had a powerful body of men, levied throughout his own territory.

The ardent Roger, at the head of this brilliant force, came unexpectedly on the place, and throwing firebrands into it, caused great losses to the inhabitants, taken as they were by surprise. It so happened that the husbandmen were threshing the corn, after harvest, in the open streets, and great heaps of straw and chaff lay scattered before the houses, as is the case in autumn; so that food for the flames was easily found. In this manner, a wealthy town was reduced to ashes in the twinkling of an eye. The church of St. Sulpice, bishop and confessor, with much wealth belonging to the burghers deposited there, was burnt, and all who were in the church perished in the flames. The garrison of the castle, finding themselves taken by surprise, fled to the fortress with many of the inhabitants, having had a narrow escape from being cut off. The same year, peace was made between Roger and the two brothers,[2] by whom he was taken to King Stephen's court in England, and reconciled with him on honourable terms.

On the calends of October [1st October] Geoffrey of Anjou laid siege to Falaise, and toiled before it in vain for eighteen days. On the nineteenth day he drew off his troops, having gained no advantage. Richard de Lucy commanded in the place, and valiantly defended the fortress at the head of the garrison. He even in derision threw the gates open every day to the besiegers with the utmost

[1] Baldwin IV., count of Hainault. He was brother-in-law of Roger de Toeni.

[2] Waleran, earl of Mellent, and Robert, earl of Leicester.

audacity; and as the besieged had abundant stores of provisions and arms, he challenged them in mockery to the assault. The enemy laid waste all the country round, and, breaking into the churches, and carrying off the sacred vestments and vessels without any fear of God, profaned the holy places; nor did they spare any one, for they plundered the poor people of everything they could lay their hands on. At last, in a sudden panic, inspired by God, they fled in the night time, leaving in their rout their tents full of clothes and arms, and carts loaded with bread and wine and other necessaries, which the garrison and inhabitants took possession of in great joy.

Ten days afterwards, however, the Angevins suddenly retraced their steps, and making a rapid circuit round Falaise, swept off the property of those who had returned to their homes and were dwelling in security. For three weeks Normandy was unceasingly subjected to slaughter and ravage by the count's fierce inroads, and great losses were sustained. In the beginning of November he came to Touque, where he found a wealthy bourg; his full intention being to assault the neighbouring fortress of Bonneville on the morrow.[1] The enemy found large houses in the bourg, although they were all deserted; but quartering themselves in them without any precautions, they sat down to carouse in a splendid manner.

Meanwhile, in the depth of the night, while the enemy's troops were resting securely in other people's houses, William, surnamed Troussebot,[2] the governor of Bonneville, having discovered the enemy's want of caution, suddenly took advantage of it with great address. Having assembled the garrison and animated them by words of exhortation to a daring enterprise, he sent some wretched boys and common women to Touque, with instructions which he had carefully meditated, what they were to do. According to their orders, they crept into the bourg with great secrecy, and dispersing through it boldly set the four quarters on fire in forty-five different places. The Angevins, who had

[1] Touque stands on the river of that name, about three quarters of a league from Bonneville, a strong castle which was a favourite residence of the dukes of Normandy. See before, vol. iii. p. 211.

[2] For William Troussebot and his family, see *ib.* p. 328.

just taken possession of the village and captured their hosts in their own houses and seated in their own chairs, were awoke by the crackling of the flames and the shouts of the sentinels, and, panic struck, fled at once, abandoning their arms and horses, with many other necessaries. William Troussebot and his garrison, in full armour, sallied forth from Bonneville to fall on the enemy, but the smoke was so thick that in the obscurity neither party was able to distinguish the other. At last, the count, all in confusion, halted in a certain cemetery, and there gathering his scattered force, waited till daylight. As soon as the dawn appeared, he fled with the utmost speed, and having had some experience of Norman daring, never held bridle till he arrived, not without disgrace, at Argentan.

To such alarms were the unarmed population of Normandy exposed, to their sorrow; and having no ruler, could only invoke the aid of the Most High. The lords lent themselves to perfidious and wicked enterprises; many of them treacherously favoured the enemy; and as for their own people, so far from protecting them, they pillaged and oppressed them, and made them the victims of their atrocious tyranny.

At this time, Theobald, abbot of Bec, was elevated to the metropolitan see of Canterbury in England;[1] and, in his place, Letald, a monk of a good conversation, was appointed to govern the church of Bec.

CH. XXXIX. *The council at Rome under Innocent II.—Ouen, bishop of Evreux, dies in England—Death of Thurstin, archbishop of York.*

IN the year of our Lord 1139, the second indiction, Pope Innocent II. held a great council at Rome in the middle of Lent;[2] and enjoined the prelates, who assembled in great numbers, to observe inviolably the decrees of the holy fathers. Many of the prelates summoned to the council came from distant countries, and for this purpose had encountered a perilous journey in the winter season, and so

[1] Archbishop Theobald was chosen at a synod held at London under Alberic, bishop of Albano, the pope's legate, during Advent, in 1139.

[2] This council was opened on April 4, 1139. The canons enacted by it may be seen in Mansi, xxi. 526.

had come in view of the walls of Rome at a great expense.[1] The pope laid before them many extracts from old books, and compiled an excellent text of the sacred decrees. But the overflowing wickedness of the world hardened the hearts of men against ecclesiastical canons. Hence, although when their teachers returned home, the apostolical decrees were generally published in all countries, they afforded, as it is quite clear, no relief to the oppressed and those who required help, inasmuch as they were slighted by the princes and nobles, as well as by the people, their subjects.

Ouen, bishop of Evreux, went to England in Easter week, and died there on the sixth of the nones of July [2nd July], in the college of canons at Meliton,[2] where he was buried. Born in the territory of Bayeux, he devoted himself to the study of letters, and becoming a proficient in the liberal arts, was one of the most learned men of the times. Admitted to King Henry's confidence and placed in his household, he gave him entire satisfaction as one of his principal secretaries. At length, he was preferred from the chapel royal to the bishopric of Evreux, and governed the diocese for twenty-four years; instructing his clergy and the people under his charge to observe the law of God, and ably performing the service of the church. He also restored from the foundation the church of St. Mary, mother of God, which was burnt to the ground in his time. Rotrou, archdeacon of Rouen, who was son of Henry earl of Warwick, succeeded to the bishoprick of Evreux, and was consecrated by the lord Hugh, archbishop.

In the same year, I think, Thurstin, archbishop of York, the before-named Ouen's brother, died.[3]

Ch. XL. *King Stephen's quarrel with the bishops—They are arrested and compelled to surrender their castles.*

At this time there was a great commotion in England. Roger, bishop of Salisbury,[4] relying on his wealth, his power-

[1] Among these, it presently appears, was our author's own abbot, Richard of St. Evroult.

[2] Our author probably means the priory of Merton, in Surrey.

[3] Thurstin, archbishop of York, died on Jan. 21, 1139.

[4] Roger, bishop of Salisbury. He was, as our author intimates, the able and attached minister of Henry I., and naturally sympathized with

ful connexions, and strong castles, as he had been at the head of affairs throughout all England during the whole of King Henry's lifetime, obtained a bad reputation above all the great men of the realm for being disloyal to his king and lord, Stephen, and favouring the party of Anjou. He had accomplices intimately attached to him, in a son who was the king's chancellor,[1] and two nephews of great influence, one of whom was bishop of Lincoln, and the other bishop of Ely.[2] Emboldened by their vast wealth, these men presumed to harass the lords of their neighbourhood with various outrages. Roused by these sharp attacks, many of them formed a league against the bishops, and when an opportunity offered, took arms by common agreement, and tried to obtain satisfaction for the wrongs which they had suffered.

The two brothers, Waleran and Robert,[3] with Alain of Dinan, and several others, raised a quarrel at the city of Oxford with the retainers of the bishops, and falling on them, several men were slain on both sides, and the bishops Roger and Alexander were arrested. But the bishop of Ely, who was not yet come to the king's court, being lodged with his attendants in a vill outside the city, had no sooner heard the dreadful news than, moved by his evil conscience, he fled with all haste to the strong castle of Devizes. He then, having laid waste with fire the whole country round, put the castle in a posture of defence, and determined to

his daughter the empress, countess of Anjou. William of Malmesbury has treated of this bishop's character fully and impartially. See his *Modern History*, p. 507. Henry of Huntingdon, who, on the whole, speaks favourably of him, says that he died worn out with age, and grief for the severity with which Stephen had recently treated him.

[1] His name was Roger, and he was a son of the bishop of Salisbury by his concubine, Maud of Ramsbury, as our author mentions in the course of his narrative.

[2] Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, 1123—1147. Nigel, bishop of Ely, 1133—1169.

[3] Waleran, earl of Mellent, and Robert, earl of Leicester, the two most powerful supporters of King Stephen's cause. Of the former, Henry of Huntingdon says, in his "Letter to Walter," that he was "the most sagacious in political affairs of all who lived between this and Jerusalem;" and then proceeds to sketch his character and career in that happy style which makes his "Letter to Walter" one of the most interesting documents of the age. See the translation of it appended to Huntingdon's works in the *Antiq. Lib.*, p. 308—10.

defend himself in it against the king with all the force he could muster. The king, much incensed on hearing this, marched an army towards the place, and, sending forward William d'Ypres, charged with severe threats, swore that bishop Roger should be kept without food till the hostile castle was given up to him. He also seized Roger, surnamed the Poor, the bishop's son, and gave orders that he should be hung before the castle gates in sight of the rebels; for his mother, Maud of Ramsbury, the bishop's concubine, kept possession of the main building of the fortress.

At last, the bishop of Salisbury, by the king's leave, had a conference with his nephew,[1] and much blamed him for not retiring to his own diocese, but stealing away in a rage to a place belonging to another, when he found that the peace was broken; and reducing thousands to want by the devouring flames. But his arrogant nephew, with his followers, persisting in their rebellion, and the incensed king having commanded that Roger should be immediately hung on a gallows, his trembling mother being informed of the lamentable condition of her son, in her anxiety for him leapt up and said: "It was I that bore him, and I ought not to lend a helping hand to his destruction. Yea, rather I ought to lay down my own life to save his." Accordingly she immediately sent a message to the king, offering him the strong fortress which she held, as a ransom for her friends. The bishop of Ely was so humbled, that with the rest of his associates he sorrowfully consented to the surrender. At length peace was restored among them, the castle was surrendered to the king, and the bishops departed in peace to their dioceses. Bishop Roger died soon afterwards,[2] and the bishop of Ely was proclaimed a traitor.[3]

[1] The bishop of Ely. See William of Malmesbury's account of these transactions, and that given by the anonymous author of *Gesta Stephani*, both of whom supply much fuller details. Our author's narrative is faithful so far as it goes; and we are indebted to him for preserving the incident respecting Maud of Ramsbury.

[2] He died December 4, 1139.

[3] Nigel, bishop of Ely, after the death of his uncle, Bishop Roger, broke into open revolt against Stephen. See the account of his defence of the Isle of Ely in Huntingdon's History, p. 371.

CH. XLI. *The Countess Matilda and Robert, earl of Gloucester, land at Arundel, and proceed to Bristol—Rotrou of Mortain obtains possession of Pont Echanfré—Bands of the Welsh ravage England.*

IN the autumn, Matilda, countess of Anjou, crossed the sea to England, with her brother Robert of Caen, Guy de Sablé, and several others; and being well received at Arundel, she obtained leave from the king to pass without interruption to the castles which belonged to her partisans.[1] It may be remarked that this permission given by the king was a sign of great simplicity or carelessness, and prudent men regret that he was regardless of his own welfare and the kingdom's security. It was in his power at this time to have easily stifled a flame which threatened great mischief, if, with a policy becoming the wise, he had at once driven away the wolf from the entrance of the fold, and, for the safety of the flock, nipped the growth of malignancy in the bud, and, like his fathers, crushed the deadly efforts of those whose enterprise threatened the country with pillage, slaughter, and depopulation, by smiting them with the sword of justice.

In the month of November, Rotrou, count of Mortain, being taken into the king's pay, marched to Pont Echanfré,[2] and the eight stipendiary men-at-arms who were in it being half-famished, came to terms with him, and he obtained possession of the place; and permitting the wretched garrison to depart, gave the fortress in charge to Roger de Planes. Then Ribold, Simon the Red, and the other nephews of Ralph the Red,[3] were quickly driven out of the country, and suddenly lost the lordship of the castle which they had hitherto possessed.

Robert of Caen hospitably entertained under his own roof his sister Matilda after her arrival in England, and calling

[1] The carl of Gloucester (Robert of Caen), with his sister, the countess of Anjou, landed in England on August 31, 1139. She was kindly received by her step-mother, Alice, the queen-dowager, at Arundel castle, which that princess, who had married William D'Aubigny, held in dower. From thence she proceeded under safe conduct to the earl's castle at Bristol, whither, meanwhile, he had made his way by cross roads.

[2] Pont Echanfré is now called Notre-Dame du Hamel.

[3] Ralph the Red perished in the shipwreck of the *Blanche Nef*. These nephews of his have been often mentioned in preceding chapters.

in the Welsh to his aid, atrocious villanies were perpetrated in all parts. They say that more than ten thousand of these barbarians spread themselves over England, and that having no reverence for religion, they did not even spare the consecrated places, but gave themselves up to pillage, and burning, and bloodshed. It is impossible for me to describe in detail the great afflictions which the church of God suffered in the persons of her sons, who were daily butchered like sheep by the knives of the Welsh.

CH. XLII. *Philip de Harcourt made bishop of Bayeux, contrary to the influence of Henry de Blois—Death of Richard d'Escures, abbot of St. Evroult—He is succeeded by Ralph, prior of Noyon.*

IN the year of our Lord 1140, the third indiction, King Stephen assembled his council, and took into consideration the state of the commonwealth, with the assistance of his peers. There was a great division among them respecting the nomination of a bishop of Salisbury. Henry, the bishop of Winchester,[1] was anxious to introduce his nephew Henry de Sulli,[2] and, as the majority were against him, he left the king's court in high dudgeon. Waleran, count de Mellent, named Philip de Harcourt;[3] and for very good causes the king freely approved that choice. However, he bestowed on his young nephew the abbey of Fécamp, in which religion had greatly flourished in the times of his four predecessors.

In the same year, Richard, abbot of St. Evroult, after his return from the council at Rome, was compelled by urgent affairs to cross the sea to England soon after Christmas; and there, exhausted by his long journeyings, he was seized with fever during Lent. Having suffered severely for many

[1] Henry de Blois, King Stephen's brother, bishop of Winchester, 1129—1171. The circumstance here related by our author shows that his influence with Stephen was now on the wane. Shortly afterwards he deserted his cause.

[2] Henry de Sulli, abbot of Fécamp (1140—1189), was probably the issue of a marriage between William de Blois, brother of King Stephen and of Henry, bishop of Winchester, with the heiress of the house of Sulli. He is called *nepos regis*, in a document of 1135 (*Monast. Anglic.* ii. 482), and in a charter, without date, published in Madox's *Hist. of the Exchequer*, i. 14.

[3] Philip de Harcourt was raised to the see of Bayeux in 1142, and died in 1164.

days, he duly prepared himself for his end by confession and prayer. After Easter his physicians administered to him a potion, which proved too powerful, and he sunk under the effects; and falling into a swoon on the 7th of May,[1] died on the ides [15th] of the same month, in the third year of his rule. He was carried to Thorney, and buried there by the lord Robert, abbot of that monastery, before the crucifix in the church of St. Mary.[2] As soon as the monks of St. Evroult were informed of their loss, they held a chapter, and elected for their abbot Ralph, prior of Noyon,[3] who had then lived under the monastic discipline with great credit for forty years. The brother-elect crossed the sea to England, carrying certificates from Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, and John, bishop of Lisieux, testifying his unanimous election by the convent; and King Stephen, on the production of these episcopal letters, granted him the abbey, and gave him a confirmation of his ecclesiastical appointment. On his return from England, he presented himself to Bishop John with the king's letters patent; and being kindly received by the venerable bishop, his episcopal benediction was conferred upon him on the eighth of the ides of November [6th November].

Ch. XLIII. *The earl of Chester surprises Lincoln castle—The battle of Lincoln—King Stephen taken prisoner—Bishop Henry de Blois joins the party of the empress.*

In the year of our Lord 1141, the fourth indiction, there were grievous troubles in England, and great changes occurred, to the serious loss of many persons. Then it was that Ranulf, earl of Chester, and his half-brother William de

[1] The French editors are at a loss to reconcile the two dates here given, taking the word *deficit* to be equivalent to the subsequent phrase here used, *defunctus est*, "departed this life." But the translation we have adopted, the true sense we think of *deficit* in this passage, obviates the difficulty. The seventh of the ides of May is the 15th day of that month. The necrology of St. Evroult, and an extant poem on the death of Abbot Richard, fix the date of his death on the ides of May.

[2] For Thorney abbey, see vol. iii. p. 421. Robert de Prunelai succeeded Abbot Gontier, of Mans, in 1113.

[3] Ordericus (*ib.* 420) has already mentioned this Ralph, or Ranulph, prior of Noyon-sur-Andelle. The period of the death of this last of the abbots of St. Evroult under whom our author lived is unknown.

Roumare, revolted against King Stephen, and surprised the fortress which he had at Lincoln for the defence of the city. Cautiously choosing a time when the garrison of the tower were dispersed abroad and engaged in sports, they sent their wives before them to the castle, under pretence of their taking some amusement.[1] While, however, the two countesses stayed there talking and joking with the wife of the knight whose duty it was to defend the tower, the earl of Chester came in, without his armour or even his mantle, apparently to fetch back his wife, attended by three soldiers, no one suspecting any fraud. Having thus gained an entrance, they quickly laid hold of the bars and such weapons as were at hand, and forcibly ejected the king's guard. They then let in Earl William and his men-at-arms, as it had been planned before, and in this way the two brothers got possession of the tower and the whole city.

Bishop Alexander and the citizens sent intelligence of this occurrence to the king, who became greatly enraged at it, and was much astonished that two of his dearest friends, on whom he had lavished honours and dignities, should have acted so basely. In consequence, after Christmas, he assembled an army, and marching directly to Lincoln, took by a night surprise about seventeen men-at-arms who lay in the town, the citizens giving him their help. The two earls had shut themselves up in the castle, with their wives and most intimate friends; and finding the place suddenly invested on all sides, became very anxious, not knowing what to do.

At last, Ranulf, who being the youngest was the most active and venturesome, crept out by night with a few horsemen, and made for the county of Chester, among his own vassals. He then announced his quarrel with the king to Robert, earl of Gloucester, his father-in-law, and others his friends and relations, and raising the Welsh, with the disinherited and many others, in arms against the king, gathered forces in every quarter to enable him to bring relief to the besieged. He also sought a special interview with Matilda, countess of Anjou, and pledging his fealty to

[1] We are indebted to Ordericus for these and some other incidental details connected with the surprise of Lincoln castle, and the conduct of the earls.

her, earnestly entreated her aid, which was most graciously granted.

The two earls, having assembled a vast body of men under arms, marched towards the besieged place, and were prepared to give battle if any resistance was offered. But the king slighted the reports which he daily received of the enemy's advance, and could not be persuaded that they were capable of, or would venture on, such an enterprise. Meanwhile, he constructed engines and prepared for the assault of the besieged, who implored his mercy. At length, on Sexagesima Sunday, while they were celebrating the feast of the Purification,[1] the king in person having ascertained that the enemy was near, he called together his great lords and asked for their counsel under present circumstances. Some were of opinion that he should leave a large body of troops with the loyal citizens to defend the town, while he should march out with all honour and levy an army from every part of England; with which he should return, when opportunity offered, and reduce the castle by storm with royal severity. Others recommended him to show due reverence to the feast of the Purification of St. Mary, mother of God, and by an exchange of messages with a view to terms of peace defer the engagement; that through this delay neither party might be utterly prostrated, and human blood might not be shed to the sorrow of multitudes. However, the obstinate prince disdained to listen to these prudent counsels, and thought it dishonourable to defer the engagement for any considerations: he, therefore, gave orders for his troops to arm for battle. The armies met near the city, and being drawn up in order on both sides, battle was joined.

The king divided his army into three bodies, and the same order was observed on the other side. The front rank of the royal army was composed of Flemings and Bretons, under the command of William d'Ypres and Alain de Dinan. Opposed to them were a wild band of Welshmen, under their chiefs Meredith and "Kaladrius."[2] The king himself, with some of his men-at-arms, dismounted, and fought on foot with great resolution for his life and king-

[1] Sexagesima Sunday fell that year (1141) on 2nd February, the feast of the Purification.

[2] *Mariadoth et Kaladrius:* Cadwallader (?)

dom. In like manner, Ranulf, earl of Chester, with his cavalry, also dismounted, and encouraged the bold infantry of Chester to the work of slaughter. As for Robert, earl of Gloucester, who bore the most distinguished part in this expedition, he commanded that the men of Bath, and other disinherited gentlemen, should have the honour of striking the first blow for the recovery of their inheritances.

At first, the battle was fought on both sides with great desperation, and there was much effusion of human blood. The best knights and men-at-arms were in the king's army; but the enemy outnumbered them in infantry and the Welsh levies. It is certain that William d'Ypres with his Flemings, and Alain with his Bretons, were the first to give way; thereby emboldening the enemy, and spreading panic in the ranks of their confederates. This engagement was disgracefully distinguished by the most scandalous treachery; for some of the great lords, with a few of their retainers, accompanied the king, while they sent the great body of their vassals to secure the victory to his adversaries.[1] Thus they deceived their lord, and may justly be considered as perjured men and traitors. Count Waleran and his brother William de Warrenne, with Gilbert de Clare, and other knights of high renown, both Norman and English, as soon as they saw the first rank routed, turned their backs and fled in alarm for their own safety. On the other hand, Baldwin de Clare, Richard Fitz-Urse, Engelran de Sai, and Ilbert de Lacy, stuck closely to the king during the battle, and fought stoutly by his side till the day was lost.

As for King Stephen, mindful of the brave deeds of his ancestors, he fought with great courage; and as long as three of his soldiers stood by him, he never ceased dealing heavy blows with his sword and a Norwegian battle-axe, with which some youth had supplied him. At last, worn out with fatigue and deserted by all, he surrendered to Earl Robert, his cousin; and being made prisoner, was by him

[1] This circumstance, which reminds us of the policy pursued in more modern times by some of the nobles who joined the Stuart pretender, is not mentioned by the English historians. On the whole, Ordericus gives a very faithful account of the important battle of Lincoln. It tallies, in the main, with Henry of Huntingdon's, which is the best we have met with and supplies many details not to be found in our author's narrative.

soon afterwards presented to the Countess Matilda. Thus, by a turn of the wheel of fortune, King Stephen was hurled from his throne, and, alas! incarcerated in the important fortress of Bristol in anguish and misery. Baldwin de Clare and the other brave young soldiers, who dismounted with the king and fought gallantly, as I have just said, were made prisoners.

The night before, while the people of God were keeping the eve of the feast dedicated to the honour of the Virgin Mother, and waited for matins, when a high mass was to be celebrated according to the rites of the church, a great storm of hail and rain fell in the western parts, that is, in France and Britain, and terrible claps of thunder were heard, accompanied by vivid flashes of lightning.

On the very day of the battle, while the king was hearing mass before the engagement, and his mind was agitated, if I mistake not, by anxious care and thought, the consecrated wax-taper broke in his hand, and fell thrice to the ground in the presence of many witnesses. This was remarked by some judicious persons to be a manifest token of evil to come; and the fall of the prince on the same day clearly explained the omen. The king's disaster filled with grief the clergy and monks and the common people; because he was condescending and courteous to those who were good and quiet, and, if his treacherous nobles had allowed it, he would have put an end to their nefarious enterprises, and been a generous protector and benevolent friend of the country.

The townsmen of Lincoln who had taken the king's side, as they were bound to do, he being also the lord of the place, finding that the enemy had obtained a complete victory, abandoned their wives and houses and all that they possessed, and fled to the neighbouring river, intending to save themselves by becoming exiles.[1] Rushing in great

[1] Henry of Huntingdon records the omen mentioned in the preceding paragraph, with the addition that the pix fell from the altar during the mass; but he does not mention this disastrous attempt of the inhabitants of Lincoln to escape after the battle. He only says that the city was given up to plunder. Notwithstanding that he was a canon of Lincoln, and, from the circumstantiality of his narrative, may be supposed to have been resident there at the time of the battle, Ordericus has been able to glean a variety of details omitted by the English historian.

crowds to the boats, in their haste they so overcrowded them with their numbers, losing all order and self-possession in the imminent fear of death, and those who came latest jumping in upon those who were first, that the boats were upset in a moment, and nearly all who were embarked (some say as many as five hundred of the principal citizens) perished. William, a famous soldier and nephew of Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, fell on the king's side. Of the others, as those report who were present, not more than a hundred were slain.

Count Ranulf and his victorious comrades entered the city, and pillaged every quarter of it like barbarians. As for the citizens who remained, they butchered like cattle all whom they found and could lay hands on, putting them to death in various ways without the slightest pity.

After this battle and the capture of the king, a great division arose in England. Henry, bishop of Winchester, immediately joined the party of the Angevins; and receiving the countess with respect in the royal city, entirely deserted his brother, the king, and all who were on his side. Earl Waleran, William de Warrenne, Simon, and several other lords adhered to the queen, and pledged themselves to fight resolutely for the king and his heirs.[1] Thus the mischief spread on all sides, and England, which formerly overflowed with wealth, was now miserably desolated, and abandoned to rapine, fire, and slaughter.

CH. XLIV. *Geoffrey, count of Anjou, comes into Normandy —The principal lords submit to him—Death of John, bishop of Lisieux—Louis le Jeune marches to Thoulouse.*

GEOFFREY, count of Anjou, as soon as he heard that his wife had triumphed, hastened to Normandy, and sent messengers to the lords, requiring them, on their fealty, to surrender their castles into his hands and remain quiet. First, in the ensuing Lent,[2] Rotrou, count of Mortain, concluded a peace with Geoffrey, and, breaking the treaty

[1] Stephen's queen, Matilda, supported by these lords and William d'Ypres' band of mercenaries, maintained herself in Kent until Stephen's release from captivity. The Simon here mentioned was Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton. In the last words of the sentence our author probably means the heirs of the late king.

[2] March, 1141.

which he had made with the king, gave his support to the Angevins. He had lately found occasion for resentment against the king, for having given him no satisfaction when he appealed to him for the release of his nephew Richer. For, one Sunday in September, during the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Mary,[1] while Richer de l'Aigle was peaceably on his road to England with a retinue of fifty soldiers, and arrived unarmed at the bourg called Lire,[2] he was suddenly captured by Robert de Belesme, who lay in ambush for him, and with whom he supposed that he was in profound peace. He lay six months in the dungeon at Bréteuil, and this freebooter ravaged his lands and burnt his villages, without any pretence, in the most cruel manner.

Count Rotrou, his uncle, was greatly afflicted at these furious outrages, and set his heart on getting his nephew liberated, and his domains out of his enemy's hands. He, therefore, took great pains to have Robert de Belesme's steps frequently watched by armed men. At last, in the end of October, by God's permission, Rotrou, having with him a strong troop, fell in with the miscreants, and capturing Robert de Belesme, his brother Maurice, and several others, and loading them with fetters, their imprisonment afforded great security to the honest peasants.

In the middle of Lent,[3] the principal lords of Normandy assembled at Mortain, and had a conference concerning the affairs of the state. In consequence, Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, and some of the lords went to Theobald, count de Blois, and offered him the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy. However, like a religious and prudent man, he declined to burthen himself with the weight of such vast cares, but ceded his right to the throne, on certain conditions, to Geoffrey, King Henry's son-in-law. These conditions were, that Geoffrey should give up to him the city of Tours, which belonged to his fief; release his brother, King Stephen, from prison; and restore to him and his heir all his ancient territories, as he held them during the life of his uncle.

Then Robert, earl of Leicester, concluded a treaty with

[1] Sunday, September 8, 1140.
[2] Lire is in the canton of Rugles in the department of Eure.
[3] About March 9, 1141.

Rotrou, and, at the instance of the counts who were present, set at liberty Richer de l'Aigle. He also obtained a truce with the Angevins for himself and his brother Waleran, until he returned from England. The garrison of Verneuil, within whose circuit was comprised a population of thirteen thousand men who formerly assumed a menacing attitude towards the king, considering that the majority had submitted to him, after a long resistance, began to abate their former obstinacy, and surrendering the fortress, transferred their allegiance to Count Geoffrey and Matilda. The garrison of Nonancourt soon afterwards did the same.[1]

John, bishop of Lisieux, who was advanced in years and had gained much experience, being now left without any expectation of support, and no longer willing to submit to the hostilities of the Angevins, especially as he found their power everywhere established on the left bank of the Seine, and that many of the neighbouring garrisons were peaceably surrendered to them, after consulting his friends, concluded a peace with the count in the last week of Lent.[2] On his return from Caen towards Lisieux, before Whitsuntide,[3] his health gave way in consequence of the excessive heat of the season and the great fatigue he had undergone; and after lying sick for a week, he died on the twelfth of the calends of June [21st May], in the thirty-fourth year of his episcopate. Then Rotrou, bishop of Evreux, with Ralph, abbot of St. Evroult, and other abbots of the diocese of Lisieux, assembled, and buried his corpse in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, before the altar of St. Michael in the north aisle.

After this, Lewis le Jeune, king of France, assembled a large army, and, at the feast of St. John the Baptist,[4] began his march to lay siege to Thoulouse, intending to make war on Count Alfonso, Raymond's son.[5]

[1] Verneuil and Nonancourt are in the arrondissement of Evreux.
[2] Between March 23 and 30, 1141.
[3] May 18 of the same year.
[4] June 24, 1141.
[5] Alfonso-Jourdain, count of Thoulouse, the son of Raymond IV. de St. Gilles.

CH. XLV. *The author concludes his history—Shortly recapitulates the events of his own life—And commends himself to the divine mercy.*

[1]AND now, worn out by age and infirmities, I have a strong wish to bring this book to a close, and from various circumstances I have good reasons for so doing. I am now in the sixty-seventh year of my age, after a life spent in the service of my Lord Jesus Christ; and while I see the great men of this world crushed by severe disasters and reduced to great adversity, I find myself, by God's grace, strong in the security given by my submission to discipline, and happy in the poverty it enjoins. See, how Stephen, king of England, is kept in a doleful prison; and Lewis, king of France, having led an expedition against the Goths and Gascons, is a prey to many anxious cares! See, how the episcopal chair at Lisieux is void; and I know not when it will be filled, or what sort of bishop the successor to that see will prove. Need I say any more?

To thee, then, Almighty God, I address my discourse, and doubly implore thy mercy to have pity on me. I give thee thanks, Most High King, for that thou didst give me existence without any merit of mine, and hast ordered the years of my life according to thy good pleasure. For thou art my King and my God, and I am thy servant and the son of thine handmaid; and as far as I have been able I have served thee from the earliest days of my life.

I was baptized on the Saturday of Easter, at Attingham, a village in England which stands on the bank of the great river Severn. There, by the ministry of Ordericus the priest, thou didst regenerate me with water and the Holy Spirit, and gavest me the name borne by this priest, who was my godfather. When I was five years old I was sent to school at Shrewsbury, and I offered to thee my services in the lowest order of the clergy in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, the Apostles. While there, Siward, a priest of great

[1] The touching recital which follows requires no observation. The principal occurrences in the life of Ordericus have been already noticed in the first volume of this work, and have again come under review in a Notice by M. Leopold Delisle, on its general scope and value, the chronological system pursued by the author, and other matters connected with the History; a translation of which is prefixed to the present volume.

eminence, instructed me in letters for five years from Carmenta Nicostrates, and taught me psalms and hymns with other necessary learning. Meanwhile, thou didst honour the church before named, which stood on the river Meole and belonged to my father, by causing a venerable monastery to be constructed on the site, through the pious devotion of Earl Roger.

It was not thy good pleasure that I should long serve thee in that place, subject to disquietude from my relations, for such are often a burthen and hindrance to thy servants; and, therefore, thou didst not permit me to incur any obstacle to my observing the divine law, through the carnal affection of my kindred. Wherefore, O glorious God, who bidst Abraham to depart from his own land and his father's house, and the society of his kinsmen, thou didst put it into the heart of my father Odelerius to separate me entirely from himself, and devote me, in body and soul, to thee. He, therefore, amidst floods of tears, delivered me, also weeping bitterly, to the monk Reynold, and sending me into exile for the love of thee, never saw me afterwards. Being then a young boy, it was not for me to oppose my father's will; and he promised me, for his part, that if I became a monk I should partake with the Innocents the joys of Paradise. Having willingly made this covenant between me and thee, through my father's words, I left my country, my parents, and all my kindred, acquaintance, and friends, who took leave of me in tears, and commended me with affectionate prayers to thee, the Most High God, Adonai. Vouchsafe, I beseech thee, to receive their petitions, O gracious King of Sabaoth, and mercifully grant the prayers they offered on my behalf!

I was ten years old when I crossed the British sea, and arrived in Normandy, an exile, unknown to all and knowing no one. Like Joseph in Egypt, I heard a language to which I was an utter stranger. But, supported by thy merciful goodness, I found the utmost kindness and attention amongst these foreigners. I was professed as a monk in the monastery of St. Evroult by the venerable Abbot Mainier, in the eleventh year of my age; and I received the tonsure, as a clerk, on Sunday the eleventh of the calends of October [21st September]. He gave me the name of Vitalis, in

place of that I received in England, which seemed barbarous to the Normans. This name he borrowed from one of the companions of St. Mauricius the martyr, whose feast was celebrated on that day. In this monastery, through thy goodness, I have lived fifty-six years, loved and honoured by all my brethren and associates far more than I have deserved. Bearing the heat and cold and the burthen of the day in the vineyard of Sorech,[1] I have laboured among thy servants; and as thou art faithful, I fear not but I shall receive the penny which thou hast promised.

I have reverently obeyed six abbots as my fathers and masters, because they were thy vicars; namely, Mainier, Serlo, Roger, Warin, Richard, and Ralph. They were the lawful superiors of the convent of St. Evroult; they watched over me and others as those that must give account; they used their best endeavours in the interior and exterior concerns of the abbey; and, with thy countenance and aid, they procured for us all things necessary. On the ides of March [15th March], when I was sixteen years old, at the instance of Serlo, then abbot-elect, I was ordained subdeacon by Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux. Two years afterwards, on the seventh of the calends of April [26th March], Serlo, who had then become bishop of Sées, conferred on me the order of deacon, in which I did thee willing service for fifteen years. At length, in the thirty-third year of my age, on the twelfth of the calends of January [21st December], William, archbishop of Rouen, laid on me the burthen of the priesthood. On the same day he ordained two hundred and forty-four deacons, and one hundred and twenty priests, in whose company I devoutly approached thy altar, under the influence of the Holy Spirit; and I have now faithfully performed my sacred ministrations to thee, O God, in joyfulness of heart for thirty-four years.

Thus, O Lord God, my creator and life-giver, thus through these various degrees hast thou bestowed thine unmerited gifts upon me, and justly set apart the years of my life for thy service. In all places to which from times long past I have been led by thee, thou hast caused me to be loved by

[1] Judges xvi. 4: "And it came to pass afterwards, that he (Samson) loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah." The allusion appears to refer to our author's labours in a strange land.

thy servants, not for my own worth, but of thy free goodness. I give thee thanks, O gracious Father, for all the benefits conferred upon me, and praise and bless thee with my whole heart. With tears in my eyes, I implore thy mercy for my innumerable offences. Spare me, O Lord, spare me, and bring me not into confusion. According to thy unwearied goodness, behold with compassion the work of thy hands, and pardon and cleanse me from all my sins. Give me the will to persevere in thy service, and never-failing strength against the malignant wiles of Satan, until, by thy help, I obtain the inheritance of eternal salvation. And those things which I ask for myself now and hereafter, O merciful God, I beseech also for my friends and benefactors. I implore them also for all thy faithful, according to thy good providence. And as our merits are not of sufficient efficacy to procure for us those eternal blessings to which the desires of the perfect ardently aspire, O Lord God, omnipotent Father, creator and governor of angels, the true hope and everlasting bliss of the just, may the glorious intercession of the holy Mary, virgin and mother, and of all the Saints, be our help with thee, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of all men, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end! Amen.

THE END.

THE

CHRONICLE OF ST. EVROULT.

THE

CHRONICLE OF ST. EVROULT.[1]

A.D.

1. Christ was born, A.U.C. 752, in the twelfth year of the Emperor Octavian.
12. Christ hears the doctors in the temple, and asks of them questions.
15. The Emperor Octavian died, and was succeeded by Tiberius.
27. Pontius Pilate is procurator in Judea.
28. Victorius commences his cycle with this year, in which there was a double consulship. It was the fifteenth year of Tiberius, who succeeded to the empire, A.D. 15.
30. Christ was baptized, and his miracles began.
31. The passion of John is placed in the Chronicles under this year.
33. Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered.
37. On the death of Tiberius, Gaius, surnamed Gaicula, became emperor. He released Herod from prison, and made him king of Judea.
38. At this time Matthew wrote his gospel.
39. Herod the tetrarch coming to Rome, is accused by Agrippa. He loses his tetrarchate, and fleeing to Spain with Herodias, dies of grief.
42. Pilate being ill-treated by Gaius, kills himself.

[1] This Chronicle is printed for the first time in the appendix to the fifth volume of the History of Ordericus Vitalis, lately published at Paris by the *Societé de l'Histoire de France*. The text was supplied by two manuscripts in the Imperial Library, one of which (A) is bound at the end of the *Necrologe de Saint Evroult* (Suppl. Lat. 801), the other (B) forms part the *Residu Saint-Germain* (paq. 97, No. 5, Art. 8).

A.D.

43. On the death of Gaius, Claudius becomes emperor.
47. Peter fixes his see at Rome.
48. Mark publishes in Egypt the gospel which he had written at Rome.
52. Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome.
53. The great famine to which Luke refers.
56. On the death of Claudius, Nero succeeded, under whom was the first persecution. Festus was procurator of Judea, by whom Paul is sent bound. Nero's administration being as yet humane, after two years he was set at liberty and permitted to preach.
62. St. James, the brother of our Lord, suffered martyrdom by being stoned to death.
63. Mark the Evangelist was martyred.
67. Peter ordained Linus and Cletus as bishops to perform the outward functions of the ministry, whilst he gave himself up to prayer and the word.
70. Vespasian succeeded Nero.
71. Peter was crucified. Paul was beheaded.
72. Linus was bishop. Clemens succeeded Peter.
The destruction of Jerusalem under Vespasian.
78. Cletus, pope or bishop.
80. Titus, emperor.
82. Domitian, the brother of Titus.
83. The second persecution.
John is banished to the isle of Patmos.
86. Cletus died.
87. Clemens is pope.
96. St. Dionisius, the martyr.
97. Nerva succeeded Domitian. His first edict recalled all the exiles. In consequence, John also returned to Ephesus.
98. The Emperor Trajan succeeded Nerva, A.U.C. 850.
99. John, the apostle, returned from exile. Pope Clemens died.
101. This apostle John dies in the sixty-eighth year after our Lord's passion, and the ninety-eighth (?) of his own age.
Symeon is bishop of Jerusalem.
Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is thrown to the wild beasts at Rome.

A.D.
103. Pliny the Second, the historian, flourished.
104. Evaristus is pope.
114. Alexander becomes pope. He institutes the use of holy water.
115. Simon, bishop of Jerusalem, is crucified.
117. The Emperor Hadrian Helius restored Jerusalem and rebuilt the walls, commanding it to be called Helia, after his own name. This emperor made a final slaughter of the Jews, who had again rebelled, and deprived all Jews of the liberty of entering Jerusalem.
119. Aquila, the interpreter, flourished.
124. Pope Xistus. He appointed the hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," (*Sanctus*, &c.) to be sung in the office of the mass.
134. Telesphorus, pope. He introduced the angelical hymn, *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Glory to God in the highest), on fast days.
138. The Emperor Antoninus Pius, with his sons, Aurelius and Lucius.
139. Justin, the philosopher; Valentinus and Marcion, heretics.
145. Pope Higinus.
149. Pope Pius, in whose time Hermes wrote his book called The Shepherd.
157. Polycarp coming to Rome, freed many from heresy
161. Marcus Antoninus Verus, emperor; with his brother Lucius Aurelius Commodus.
162. The fourth persecution.
Galienus the physician flourished.
163. The heresy of the Cataphrygæ began.
168. Pope Anicete.
179. Pope Soter.
180. Commodus succeeded Antoninus.
181. Irenæus, the famous bishop of Lyons, flourished.
183. Theodotion, the interpreter, lived.
188. Pope Eleutherius. Lucius, king of Britain, sent him a letter requesting to be made a Christian.
193. Commodus being slain, Pertinax Severus becomes emperor.
195. Symmachus, the interpreter, lived.
196. The fifth persecution.

A.D.

196. Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, flourished.
202. Pope Victor. He decreed that Easter should be celebrated on a Sunday, as his predecessor Eleutherius had ordered.
212. Antoninus Caracalla succeeded Severus.
Pope Zephirinus.
215. Tertullian flourished.
218. Agbarus reigned about this time.
219. Pope Calixtus.
On the death of Antoninus, he was succeeded by Macrinus.
221. Emmaus, in which village the disciples recognized the Lord, is enlarged to a town.
224. Alexander succeeds Aurelius.
225. His mother, Mammea, sends for Origen to Antioch, and treats him with great honour.
226. Pope Urban. He appointed that the bishop's chair should be elevated like a throne.
227. Origen becomes eminent at Alexandria.
230. Pope Pontianus.
235. Pope Antheros.
237. Maximus succeeded Alexander.
238. The sixth persecution.
Pope Antheros.
240. Maximus being slain, Gordian reigns.
241. Africanus becomes distinguished among writers of eminence.
242. Pope Fabian.
243. Heraclias flourished.
247. Philip, the first Christian emperor, ascends the throne.
249. The year 1000 from the building of Rome.
254. Decius succeeds Philip.
Pope Cornelius. He raised the bodies of the apostles from the catacombs in the night-time, and deposited that of St. Paul on the Ostian Way, where he was beheaded, and that of St. Peter near the spot where he was crucified.
255. On the death of Decius, Gallus becomes emperor, with his son, Volusianus.
256. The seventh persecution.

A.D.
256. The Novatian heresy.
257. On the death of Gallus, Valerianus and his son, Gallienus, succeed; under whom Cornelius, the pope, and Cyprian, the bishop, were crowned with martyrdom.
Pope Lucius.
259. The eighth persecution.
261. Pope Stephen.
265. Xistus pope, and Laurcutius deacon.
268. Pope Dionysius.
270. Claudius succeeds Valerian.
Pope Felix.
Paul of Samosata founded his heresy.
273. Aurelian succeeded Claudius. While he was raising a persecution of the Christians, a thunderbolt fell at his feet, to the great terror of those who stood round him.
275. The eighth persecution. (?)
278. On the death of Aurelian, Tacitus is raised to the empire.
279. Probus succeeds Tacitus.
The Manichean heresy took its rise.
281. Pope Caius.
283. On the death of Probus, Carus becomes emperor.
285. On the death of Carus, Diocletian and Maximian succeeded.
286. The tenth persecution.
293. Pope Marcellinus.
301. Pope Marcellus.
306. On the death of Diocletian and Constantius, the Emperor Constantine succeeded.
Pope Eusebius.
St. Mallon, bishop of Rouen.
308. Pope Melchiades.
310. The Emperor Constantine.
The year 1061 from the building of Rome.
312. St. Silvester, the twenty-third pope. In his time the council of Nice was held: also that of Arles, at which Avician, archbishop of Rouen, was present.
325. Severus, archbishop of Rouen.
332. St. Martin was born.
335. Pope Marcus.

A.D.
326. Constantine was succeeded by Constantius, with his brothers, Constantine and Constans.
337. The relics of Andrew and Luke are translated to Constantinople.
338. Pope Julius.
Maximin, bishop of Treves, enjoyed a great reputation. He gave refuge to Athanasius of Alexandria, when he was driven into exile.
340. Hilary of Poitiers returned to the church.
341. St. Nicholas departed.
Eusebius, archbishop of Rouen.
352. Pope Liberius.
359. Pope Felix.
360. The pagans burn the bones of St. John the Baptist, at the city of Sebaste, and scatter the ashes.
361. On the death of Constantine, he is succeeded by Julian.
362. Julian dies, and is succeeded by Jovian.
Pope Felix.
363. On the death of Jovian, he is succeeded by Valentinian.
365. This is the seventeenth year of the Emperor Constans; in which Anthony, the monk, died.
At this time, Peter, the famour orator, flourished at Saragossa.
366. Hilary of Poitiers died.
Marcellinus, archbishop of Rouen.
367. Pope Damasus.
368. At this time St. Ambrose was ordained bishop at Milan.
373. Hilary, the bishop, died at this time.
374. On the death of Valentinian, Valens began to reign, with Gratian and Valentinian.
375. This emperor afflicted Ambrose by a perfidious siege, and did not desist from his nefarious enterprise until, by a revelation of God, the relics of SS. Gervase and Proteus, were brought to light undecayed.
379. On the death of Valens, he was succeeded by Theodosius, who reigned six years while Gratian lived, and eleven years after his death.
At this time was held, under Damasus, the council of Constantinople against Macedonius and Eunomius, at which one hundred and fifty fathers were assembled.

A.D.

385. Pope Siricius.
386. Peter, archbishop of Rouen.
387. St. Martin was ordained bishop.
395. Arcadius succeeded Theodosius.
400. Pope Anastasius.
403. Pope Innocent. He sent a decretal letter to Victricius, archbishop of Rouen, and established the fast on Saturday, because on that day the Lord lay in the tomb.
405. St. Victricius, archbishop of Rouen.
407. Donatus, a bishop of Epirus, was illustrious for miracles. He killed by his spittle an enormous dragon, which eight yoke of oxen had great difficulty in dragging to the place where it was burnt.
409. Honorius succeeded Arcadius.
410. At this time the bodies of St. Stephen, the martyr, and his companions, were found.
412. The obit of St. Martin, archbishop of Tours.
413. At this time lived St. Jerom, the priest.
417. St. Innocent, archbishop of Rouen.
418. Pope Zosimus. He instituted the benediction of candles.
419. Boniface.
420. Jerom, the priest, died.
423. Honorius was succeeded by Theodosius, son of Arcadius.
Pope Celestine. The council of Ephesus was held; at which two hundred bishops assembled under the presidency of Cyril of Alexandria.
At this time died the bishop Augustine, who opposed Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople.
425. In this age the kingdom of the Franks was founded. The first king was Pharamond.
426. St. Evodus, archbishop of Rouen.
430. Clovis, second king of the Franks.
431. Pope Xistus. At this time the devil appeared to the Jews in Crete under the form of Moses, and promised to lead them back to the promised land dryshod through the sea; but after many of them had perished, the rest were converted to the grace of Christ.
432. Maximus, bishop of Tours, was in great repute for the eloquence with which his sermons were composed.

A.D.
434. Silvester, archbishop of Rouen.
437. Merovée, the third king of the Franks.
439. Pope Leo. He ratified the council of Chalcedon.
442. Malson, archbishop of Rouen.
449. Marcian and Valentinian succeeded Theodosius.
At this time the council of Chalcedon, at which six hundred and thirty bishops were present, was held against Eutychius, the abbot, and Dioscorus.
450. On the death of Merovée, his son Childebert reigned in his stead.
451. Germanus, archbishop of Rouen.
455. Marcian succeeds Leo.
459. Crescentius, archbishop of Rouen.
461. Pope Hilary.
467. Pope Simplicius.
472. Leo again succeeded Leo.
473. On the death of Childeric, Clovis is king. On the death of Leo, Zeno becomes emperor.
At this time flourished St. Remigius, archbishop of Rheims; St. Gildard, archbishop of Rouen; and Laud, bishop of Coutances, who was consecrated by Gildard.
482. Pope Felix.
488. This year Clovis was baptized by the blessed Remigius.
489. On the death of Zeno, Anastasius is emperor.
490. At this time St. Mamert, bishop of Vienne, instituted the yearly performance of litanies, that is, Rogations.
491. Pope Gelasius. He composed treatises, hymns, and books against Eutyches and Nestorius.
492. Theodoric succeeded Clovis.
495. Pope Anastasius.
497. Pope Symmachus.
499. At this time flourished St. Flavius, archbishop of Rouen.
509. St. Benedict died.
512. Pope Hormisdas.
513. Justin the elder is emperor.
514. Theodebert succeeded Theoderic.
517. On the death of Anastasius, Justin the elder succeeded.
In this year was born our second father, St. Evroult.

A.D.
521. Pope John.
523. Pope Felix.
525. Justinian succeeded Justin.
527. Theodebald succeeded Theodebert, and reigned one year. He left four sons, of whom Caribert reigned at Paris; Guntran at Orleans; Chilperic at Soissons; and Sigebert at Metz.[1]
Pope Boniface.
At this time Dionysius compiled the paschal cycle at Rome.
Phen. Priscian was profoundly versed in grammar.
530. Pope John [II].
At this time flourished Arator the poet, a subdeacon of the Roman church.
533. Pope Agapeto.
534. St. Pretextatus, archbishop of Rouen.
544. Pope Silverius.
546. Vigilius.
556. At this time Sigebert, king of the Franks, was treacherously slain by his brother, Chilperic, against whom he had engaged in war; and his kingdom fell to his son Childebert, a boy: his mother, Brunichilde,[2] governed it as regent.
562. Pope Pelagius.
565. Justin the Younger is emperor.
573. Pope John [III].
576. Tiberius succeeded Justin.
579. Chilperic, king of the Franks.
581. Pope Pelagius.
582. Mauritius succeeded Tiberius.
Pretextatus, archbishop of Rouen, is assassinated. He was succeeded by Melantius, who was unworthy[3] of the honour, because, as it is reported, he was accused of having been concerned in his predecessor's death.
585. Childebert, king of the Franks. Benedict, pope.
588. King Lothaire.
St. Ouen was born in this year.
589. King Childebert gave his sister, Ingunda, to Erminald

[1] See before, vol. ii. p. 283.
[2] Brunehaut. See *ib.*
[3] See vol. iii. p. 145.

A.D.

Levitgitd, king of the Visigoths, who was converted to the catholic faith by the exhortations of Leander, bishop of Seville, joined to those of his wife.

591. Pope Gregory. He added to the canon of the mass the words, *Diesque nostros in tua pace dispone*: "Give peace in our days."

594. Hildulf, archbishop of Rouen.

596. St. Evroult, the abbot, died.

At this time the monastery of St. Benedict[1] was laid in ruins by the Lombards. Constantine was the successor of St. Benedict. After him came Simplicius; then Vitalis; and then Bonitus, in whose time the monastery was destroyed.

598. Theodebert, king of the Franks, and Theodoric, made war on their cousin Clotaire, and grievously afflicted him.

603. On the death of Maurice, the first of the Greek emperors, he was succeeded by Phocas.

605. St. Gregory, the pope, died.

606. Pope Sabinian.

608. Pope Boniface [IV].

609. On the death of Phocas, he was succeeded by Heraclius.

611. At this time St. Columban flourished, and built Luxeuil, and afterwards Bobbio, in the lower part of Italy.

615. Deusdedit, pope.

617. At this time Theodebert, king of the Franks, was slain, and a great battle was fought between them.

Pope Boniface. He obtained from the Emperor Phocas the temple called the Pantheon.

620. King Dagobert.

621. Pope Honorius.

622. St. Romanus, archbishop of Rouen, flourished, and was eminent for his wonderful sanctity.

625. Dionysius's cycle of ninety and five years occurred now. It commences from the thirtieth year of our Lord's nativity, and ends in the six hundred and twenty-sixth year. This calendar of ninety years, called by the Greeks Εννεα και δεκαδεκα, was adopted by the holy fathers in the Nicene council, in which the

[1] Monte Cassino.

A.D.

fourteenth paschal moon is found every year without any error.

633. Clovis, son of Dagobert, is king. Severinus is pope.
634. John [IV], pope.
635. Pope Theodore. St. Ouen is ordained bishop.
637. Heracleon succeeded Heraclius.
640. On the death of Heracleon, he is succeeded by Constantine. On the death of Constantine, his brother Constantine reigns.
Pope Martin.
642. Paul, bishop of Constantinople, founds his heresy.
647. Pope Eugenius.
649. Pope Vitalian.
655. St. Philibert.
657. St. Wandrille, abbot.
659. On the death of Clovis, his son Clothaire reigns.
664. Pope Adeodatus.
668. Pope Donus.
669. On the death of Constantine, another Constantine succeeded.
Pope Agatho.
An eclipse of the moon.
A very grievous mortality.
671. Pope Leo [II].
672. Pope Benedict [II].
673. Pope John [V].
677. St. Ouen departed in the Lord, and was succeeded in the archbishopric by St. Ansbert.
679. Theodoric succeeded Clothaire; . . . . and Childeric usurped the kingdom.
681. Pope Leo [II].
682. On the death of Childeric, Theodoric is king.
683. Benedict. [Pope Benedict II.]
684. On the death of Constantine, he is succeeded by Justinian the younger.
Pope John [VI].
686. Conon is pope.
687. Pepin is the first mayor of the palace. According to Isidore, this was the 5998th year from the beginning of the world.
Pope Sergius.

A.D.
690. Cedwall, king of the Angles, died at Rome. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, died.
694. On the death of Justinian, he was succeeded by [the emperor] Leo.
695. St. Ansbert, archbishop of Rouen, died. He was succeeded by Gripo.
696. Willebrod was ordained by Pope Sergius bishop of the Frisians.
697. Tiberius succeeded Leo the emperor.
698. Clovis succeeded Theodoric.
700. Clovis was succeeded by his brother, Childebert.
704. On the death of Tiberius, Justinian succeeded.
708. Pope John [VII].
710. Philip succeeded Justin. Sisinnius is pope.
711. On the death of Philip, Anastasius succeeded.
Pope Constantine.
713. St. Wulfran.
714. Theodosius succeeded Anastasius.
715. On the death of Theodosius, Leo succeeded.
716. Childebert dies, and is succeeded by Dagobert.
717. Charles, the son of Pepin, becomes mayor of the palace.
718. A battle was fought in the Vimeux, between Charles Martel and the usurper Rainfrid, who was defeated, and Anjou granted to him.
Pope Gregory [IV].
719. Raniland, archbishop of Rouen.
720. On the death of Dagobert, the Franks raised to the throne Daniel, a clerk.
722. Hugh the archbishop. He was not only [arch]bishop of Rouen, but also presided over the churches of Paris and Bayeux, and the abbeys of Jumièges and Fontenelles.
724. The Emperor Leo died, and was succeeded by Constantine.
729. Beda flourished.
730. St. Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, died; Radbert succeeded.
Tatwine succeeded Berthwald as archbishop of Canterbury.
734. Pope Gregory [III].

A.D.

738. On the death of Grimo, the archbishop Rainfrid succeeded.

741. Charles [Martel] dies, and Carloman and Pepin become mayors of the palace.

743. Pope Zachary.

746. Carloman went in pilgrimage to Rome, and became a monk at Mount Sarepta, where he built a monastery in honour of St. Silvester. Thence he removed to the abbey of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino.

752. Pepin is made king.
Pope Stephen.

753. Guy, abbot of Fontenelles.

754. The Emperor Constantine, the son of Leo, assembles a council of three hundred and thirty bishops at Constantinople.

755. In the course of this year, the Lord Remigius was placed in the see of the church of Rouen, Rainfrid having been expelled from the archbishopric.

756. St. Stephen, the pope, gave the benediction at Paris to King Pepin, with his sons, Charles and Carloman, and his daughter, Sigila, while a solemn mass was being celebrated, under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul, and St. Denis.

757. St. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz.

758. Pope Paul.

761. The Emperor Constantine sends presents to Pepin.

763. This winter was extremely severe.

766. Pope Paul died.

767. Constantine is pope.

768. King Pepin died on the eighth of the calends of October [Sept. 24].
Pope Stephen [III].

769. The beginning of the reign of King Charles [Charlemagne].

771. Carloman, the brother of Charles, died on the second of the nones of December [December 4].
Pope Adrian.

772. Meinard, archbishop of Rouen.

774. Charles goes to Rome. On his return thence he took Pavia, and made King Desiderius prisoner. He also reduced and pillaged all the cities of Italy [Lombardy?].

A.D.
776. The Saxons are converted.
778. Charles razed to the ground the city of Pampeluna and, uniting his army at Saragossa, after taking hostages, and receiving the submission of the Saracens, he returned through Narbonne and Gascony. This year Charles entered Spain, and went into Saxony.
780. Saxony was reduced.
Gilbert, archbishop of Rouen.
781. Charles goes to Rome.
783. The Emperor Leo, the son of Constantine, reigned five years. Witichingis and his companions having been baptized at Andernach, they made an offering of part of the kingdom.
786. The sign of the cross was used on garments. Charles goes again to Rome, and then to St. Benedict's [Monte Cassino] and Capua.
787. Constantine reigns jointly with his mother Irene.
788. Charles passes through Germany to the territory of Bavaria.
790. Duke Tassilo comes to France, and Bavaria is reduced.
792. Charles marches against the Sclaves, who are called Wiltzes. A council is held at Frankfort, under Theophilatus and Stephen, bishops, and legates of the apostolical see; and by the authority of the holy fathers, Felix, a bishop, who had set forth the doctrine that the Lord Jesus was the son of God, not properly, but by adoption, was condemned and sentenced to perpetual banishment.
793. King Charles ravages the kingdom of Hungary.
796. Pope Leo [III].
799. There was a tremendous earthquake, which was felt through nearly the whole of Italy, and laid in ruins the greatest part of the church of St. Paul [*fuori muri*, at Rome], and brought to the ground the timbers of the roof.
800. The lord King Charles was made emperor at Rome, and saluted by the Romans with the title of Augustus. He condemned to death those who had dishonoured Pope Leo, but at the pope's request spared them from capital punishment, and banished them. For

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Pope Leo had crowned and consecrated him as emperor.

804. Pope Leo came to France, and celebrated the Nativity of our Lord with the Emperor Charles at the vill of Cressy.

805. Nicephorus, the brother of Irene, rules Constantinople.

808. St. Liudger, bishop and confessor, Charles's own chaplain, departs this life.

810. Charles makes an alliance with Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople.

811. Nicephorus died, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Michael, who sends ambassadors to the Emperor Charles to renew the alliance.

813. Charles crowns his son Lewis as emperor at the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He assembled synods for the promotion of Christianity in four parts of his empire; namely, Mentz, Rheims, Tours, and Chalons.

814. Leo, the son of Bardas, reigned six years [at Constantinople].

The Emperor Charles died.

The beginning of the reign of Lewis, the son of Charlemagne.

815. Bernard, king of the Lombards, had his eyes put out and died.

819. The Emperor Lewis went into Brittany, and Mormann was slain.

820. Michael is emperor.

Pope Stephen [IV].

821. Pope Paschal.

822. A severe famine.

823. The vision of Vuetan.

Charles, the son of Lewis, was born at Frankfort on the ides of June [June 13], where the emperor spent the winter in the new palace. He was crowned at Rome by Pope Paschal, with the title of emperor, on Easter-day.

825. King Lewis again marches into Brittany.

827. Pope Eugenius.

828. Theophilus, emperor of Constantinople. Ragnoard takes the archbishopric of Rouen.

831. In this year Lewis was set aside, and Lothaire elected.

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831. Pope Valentine.
833. Lewis was recalled to the throne.
834. Pope Gregory.
836. The relics of St. Philibert were translated from the island of Herio,[1] on the seventh of the ides of June [June 7], when the Northmen ravaged Brittany and other territories.
838. In this year Gumbald received the bishopric of Rouen.
839. Michael, the son of Theophilus, succeeded his father.
840. The Emperor Lewis died on the twelfth of the calends of July [June 20], and Drogo, his brother, caused his body to be carried to the city of Metz for interment.
841. There was a battle between the three brothers, Lewis, Lothaire, and Charles [the Bald], sons of the Emperor Lewis, in the neighbourhood of Auxerre, on the seventh of the calends of July [June 25], in which the Christians engaged on both sides mutually slaughtered each other. The empire was divided.
842. The translation of the relics of St. Ouen, bishop, on the ides of May [May 15], at the time that the Normans sacked Rouen and burnt his monastery.
848. Pope Sergius [II].
849. Paul was consecrated archbishop [of Rouen].
851. At this time the Northmen came into the Seine.
852. Pope Leo [IV].
The Northmen came for the second time.
855. The Emperor Lothaire, son of Lewis, died. Paul the archbishop died. This same year Wanilo was consecrated archbishop.
859. This year it began to freeze on the second of the calends of December [Nov. 30], and the frost lasted till the nones of April [April 5].
860. Pope Benedict [III].
862. Pope Nicholas.
865. The Northmen landed in the middle of July.
866. Basilius, having murdered his sovereign, Michael, reigned twenty years.
Wanilo, the archbishop, died, and was succeeded by Adelard.

[1] The island of Noirmoutiers, at the mouth of the Loire.

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868. A severe famine.

869. A famine again, accompanied by great mortality among men and a murrain of cattle. Adelard died, and was succeeded by Riculf.

871. A great storm of wind.
Pope Adrian [II].

872. Riculf died, and was succeeded by John.

874. John, archbishop of Rouen, died.

875. Witto died, and was succeeded by Franco.

876. The death of King Lewis. Charles makes a second expedition to Italy, and Carloman enters that country from another quarter. Charles becomes terrified, and retreating, dies on his journey.
Pope John [VIII].
This year, Rollo and his bands penetrated into Normandy on the fifteenth of the calends of December [November 17].

879. Lewis, king of Saxony, makes an inroad on Bavaria, while his brother, Carloman, was still living. The war between the Franks and the Pagans [Saracens] began. By God's help they gained a victory under Lewis, the son of King Lewis, and great numbers of the enemy were put to the sword.

884. The Northmen settled at Dieubourg.

886. Pope Marinus.

887. Leo and Alexander, the sons of Basil, reigned twenty-two years.

888. The Emperor Charles died. Arnulf is elected emperor.
Pope Adrian [III].

889. Pope Stephen [VI].

893. The beginning of the reign of Charles-the-boy [Charles the Simple].
At this time, the city of Evreux was taken, but the bishop, whose name was Sevar, by God's mercy escaped.

898. The Huns invaded Italy, and committed great ravages. The Emperor Arnulf died, and Lewis was raised to the throne.
At this time Rollo and his army laid siege to Chartres; but the bishop of that see, Gualtelm by name, a most

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religious prelate, summoned Richard, duke of Burgundy, and Ebles, count of Poitiers, to his aid, and carrying in his hands the tunic of the Virgin Mary, routed Duke Rollo by God's help, and saved the city.

900. King Zuintibold killed the son of Arnulf.[1]

904. A battle was fought between the Frank princes, Conrad and Adalbert, in which Conrad fell.

908. Alexander reigns at Constantinople for one year. The Huns devastate Saxony and Thuringia.

909. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, son of Leo, with his mother Zoe.

911. Lewis, son of Arnulf, died. King Burchard is slain. Conrad, the son of Conrad, is made king.

This year Rollo was baptized by Franco.

913. Romanus, the Armenian, with Constantine beforenamed, reigned twenty-six years.

914. Peace was made between Charles and Rollo, and Charles gave him his daughter Gisela in marriage, by whom he had no son.

915. At this time the relics of St. Ouen were carried back from France to Normandy.

917. On the death of Gisela, Rollo married Popa, daughter of the Count [Berenger of Bayeux], by whom he had a son named William.

Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, died, and was succeeded by his son William [Longsword].

919. The King [emperor] Conrad died, and was succeeded by Henry.

At this time Franco died, and was succeeded by Gunhard.

922. This year died Charles, and was succeeded by Lewis.

927. At this time an alliance was made between Lewis, king of France, and Henry, king [emperor] of Germany, at the treaty for which, William, duke of Normandy, and Richard, duke of Burgundy, were present. William, on his journey back from the conference, was sponsor for Lothaire, Lewis's son, who was baptized at Lyons.

934. Henry died, and Otho succeeded him.

[1] This entry occurs twice, being repeated under the year 902.

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934. At this time a battle was fought between Count William and the treacherous Ralph, and other rebels against Count William, at a place called "Battle-Mead."

938. Constantine, with his young son Romanus, reigned fifteen years.

942. William, duke of Normandy, the son of Rollo, was slain on the sixteenth of the calends of January [Dec. 17]; and was succeeded by his son Richard, surnamed the Elder.

Bishop Gunhard died, and was succeeded by Hugh, a monk by profession but not in deed.

945. This year Herluin was slain.

951. King Otho invaded Italy, and reduced it to submission.

953. Stephen and Constantine, the sons of Romanus, deposed their father from the imperial throne; but Constantine, in turn, expelled them both, and, associated with his son Romanus, reigned sixteen years.

957. Ludolf, son of King Otho, died in Italy, which he had reduced to submission.

961. Otho, an infant, was raised to the throne at the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

969. Nicephorus emperor.

972. The Emperor Otho died.

At this time Harold, king of Denmark, on the invitation of the Normans who were faithful to their boy-duke Richard, landed in Normandy, and fought against King Lewis [d'Outre-mer]. In this battle Herluin, count of Montreuil, was slain, and King Lewis taken prisoner; but the Queen Gerberga, by the advice of Hugh the Great, delivered her son Lothaire, and two bishops, Hilderic of Beauvais and Guy of Soissons, as hostages for the performance of the treaty, by virtue of which the king was set at liberty, and Count Richard was firmly established in his territories.

976. Lothaire, king of the Franks, dies, and Lewis, his son, reigned nine years.

979. Nicephorus having been murdered by his wife, was succeeded by John, whose niece, Theophania, married the Emperor Otho [II].

A.D.

983. The Emperor Otho the Younger died, and was succeeded by his infant son Otho.

986. At this time died Lewis; and Hugh the Great imprisoned Charles, Lewis's brother, and reigned in his stead.

989. Robert, archbishop of Rouen.

993. Robert, king of France.

996. Richard I., duke of Normandy, the son of William, died. He was succeeded by his son, Richard II.

999. Gerbert became pope [Silvester II].

1002. The Emperor Otho died, and was succeeded by Henry [IV].

1003. Pope John [XVI].

1006. Abbot Hildebert died. He rebuilt the monastery of St. Ouen.

1017. The Countess Judith died.

1024. The Emperor Henry died. He was succeeded by Conon [Conrad II.], emperor and Augustus.
Pope Benedict [VIII.], died.

1025. William the Monk,[1] son of Count Richard, died.

1026. Richard II., duke of Normandy, died, and was succeeded by Richard III., who died the same year. His brother Robert then became duke.

1031. Robert, king of France, died, and was succeeded by his son Henry.
The Countess Gunnor also died.

1033. Matilda, the daughter of Count Richard, died.[2]

1034. John [XVIII.], pope. He was brother of Benedict.

1035. Robert, duke of Normandy, died, and was succeeded by his son William, a boy of tender years.

1036. Pope Benedict [IX.], nephew of Benedict [VIII.], and John [XVIII].

1037. Robert, the archbishop, died. Malger succeeded him, but was deposed for his misdemeanors.

1039. The Emperor Conrad died, and was succeeded by his son Henry.

[1] He was a monk of Fécamp, and son of Richard II., duke of Normandy, by Judith, daughter of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany.

[2] The youngest daughter of Richard I., wife of Eudes, count of Chartres, and sister of Emma, queen of England.

A.D.
1039. Pope Clement [II.], called Suier, and bishop of Bamberg.
1042. A great mortality among mankind.
1047. The battle of Valesdunes.
1048. Pope Damasus.
1049. In this year Pope Leo held a council at Rheims.
1050. The abbey of St. Evroult, which had been laid in ruins by the Danes, was rebuilt, and a certain venerable monk of Jumièges, named Theodoric, was appointed abbot.
1054. The battle of Mortemer.
Pope Leo, also named Bruno, died.
1055. Mauger, having been deposed, was succeeded by Maurilius, as archbishop of Rouen.
1056. Henry [III.], emperor of the Romans, died, and was succeeded by his son, Henry [IV].
1057. Pope Victor died.
1058. Pope Stephen died.
Abbot Theodoric resigned the administration of the church of St. Evroult, and died in Cyprus.
Robert de Grentmesnil was appointed in his place.
1060. Henry [IV], king of France, died, and was succeeded by his son Philip.
This year Abbot Robert went to Rome, and Osbern, prior of Cormeilles, was made abbot.
Pope Nicholas [II].
In the month of September, this year, John was consecrated bishop of Avranches.
1062. Pope Alexander II.
1063. In this year Maine was reduced under the dominion of William, count of Normandy.
The dedication of the church of St. Mary at Rouen.
1065. Edward, king of England, died.
1066. A comet appeared.
Conan, count of Brittany, died.
William, duke of Normandy, passed the sea on the twelfth of the calends of October [Sept. 25],[1] with a powerful body of Normans [*cum validâ manu*];

[1] Ordericus states in his History, that the duke's fleet crossed the sea on the night of September 29, being the feast of St. Michael. See before, vol. i. p. 481.

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Harold hastened to meet him and give him battle, and an engagement was fought on the second of the ides of October [Oct. 14], in which Harold and his army were put to the sword. After this, William was raised to the throne on Christmas day at London, the capital of England.

1066. Lanfranc was appointed the first abbot of Caen; and on the death of Osbern he was succeeded by Mainier as abbot of St. Evroult.

1067. Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, who had been a monk of Fécamp, died.

1069. He was succeeded by John, son of Ralph [count of Bayeux], brother of Richard. John had already governed the church of Avranches[1] for seven years and three months, when, at the request of Pope Alexander, and with the leave of William, prince of Normandy and king of England, he accepted the see of the church of Rouen.

1073. Pope Gregory [VII], previously called Hildebrand.
In this year the monks of St. Ouen invaded the rights of John, archbishop of Rouen . . . .

1074. A synod was held this year in the city of Rouen, under William, king of England and prince of Normandy, and John, the archbishop, assisted by his suffragans, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Hugh of Lisieux, Michael of Avranches, Gilbert of Evreux, and Robert of Séez.

1075. This year William, king of England, on the holy day of Easter, offered his daughter to be consecrated to God in the church of Fècamp by the hands of John, the archbishop. At the same time he made the good law, that no one should assault another for the homicide of any kinsman, except the murderers of a father or a son.

1077. The church of St. Stephen at Caen was dedicated this year.

1079. John, archbishop of Rouen, died. This John was succeeded by William, archbishop of Rouen, who had been a monk and abbot of St. Stephen at Caen.

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 123 and 167.

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1081. There was a violent storm of wind on Christmas night.

1084. This year died Matilda, the illustrious queen of England, by whose noble munificence many benefits were conferred on our convent.

Gregory VII., having been expelled from Rome by the Emperor Henry .... was invited to Ravenna.[1] There was a great schism throughout the West.

1087. In this year died William, king of England and duke of Normandy, whose kindness and equity contributed so much to the welfare of the church .... caused it to serve God in perpetual peace and concord.

The body of St. Nicholas was translated from Myra to Bari, on the ninth day of May.

1089. Laufranc, archbishop of Canterbury, died; and, three years afterwards, he was succeeded by Anselm, abbot of Bec.

Mainier, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Serlo.

1091. Serlo was made bishop of Lisieux, and Roger du Sap succeeded him in the church of St. Evroult.

1095. There was a severe drought and great mortality; and, in the month of May, stars appeared to fall from heaven.

Pope Urban held a great council at Clermont, and exhorted Christians to undertake the crusade to Jerusalem against the Pagans.

Then there was a severe famine.

1098. On the fifth of the calends of October [Sept. 27] the heavens seemed to be on fire.

On the day of our Lord's Nativity the sun was turned to darkness.

Hugh de Grentmesnil, the founder of the monastery of St. Evroult, died.

1099. Jerusalem was taken by the crusaders on the ides of July [July 15], the Gentiles, who had long possessed it, having been conquered.

Pope Urban [II.] died this year, and was succeeded by Paschal.

The church of St. Evroult at Ouche was dedicated.

[1] Cf. vol. i. p. 372.

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1100. William Rufus, king of England, was killed by an arrow while hunting. He was succeeded by his brother Henry.

1106. The battle of Tinchebrai, in which Henry, king of England, took his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, prisoner.

Geoffrey Martel, son of Fulk, count of Anjou, was slain.

Bohemond went into Spain at the time when a comet appeared.

The Emperor Henry died, and was succeeded by his brother Charles [Henry V].

1108. Philip, king of France, died, and his son Lewis succeeded him.

1109. In this year and the two following, a severe famine prevailed in France.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, died; also Hugh, abbot of Cluni, died, and was succeeded by Pons.

1110. A comet was visible from the fourth of the ides of June [June 10] to the second of the calends of July [June 30].

Helias, count of Maine, died.

William, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Geoffrey the Breton, dean of Mans.

1111. Duke Bohemond died.

The Emperor Charles made Pope Paschal prisoner.

1112. Robert de Belesme was arrested.

Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, died. He was succeeded by Ouen, in whose time the cathedral church, with the whole city, was destroyed by fire, when Amauri held the castle against King Henry, who besieged it.

1118. Pope Paschal [II.] died. He was succeeded by Gelasius [II.], into whose church Bourdin, the heretic, intruded himself.

There was a violent storm of wind on the night of Christmas, which threw down many houses and trees in the Western parts.

1119. Also in this year, on the night of the feast of St. Thomas.[1] There was a great earthquake in Britain,

[1] Dec. 21. The words "a violent storm of wind" are understood.

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. . . . on the fourth of the calends of October [September 28].

1119. Pope Gelasius II. died on the fourth of the calends of February [Jan. 29].

Pope Calixtus II. assembled a very numerous council at Rheims.

There was a battle in the Vexin, on the thirteenth of the calends of September [August 20], between Henry, king of England, and Lewis, king of France; where Lewis was defeated by Henry, and made a disgraceful retreat.

1120. A peace was made between Henry, king of England, and Lewis, king of France, after great losses suffered on both sides.

When the king of England was returning to his kingdom, his sons, William and Richard, with a great number of the nobility of different countries, perished by shipwreck on the seventh of the calends of December [Nov. 25].

1123. Some of the Normans having revolted, namely, Amauri, count of Evreux, and Waleran, count of Mellent, with their accomplices, King Henry burnt and took their castles of Montfort, Brionne, and Pontaudemer. After many reverses, Count Waleran was taken prisoner, with thirty men-at-arms.

On the death of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, he was succeeded by William Curboil.

On Ascension day, Warin, abbot of St. Evroult, was consecrated by Serlo, bishop of Séez.

1124. On the death of Serlo, he was succeeded as bishop of Séez by John.

1125. At this time there were great changes among princes. The Emperor Charles Henry V. died; and Lothaire, duke of Saxony, was elected in his place. Charles, duke of Flanders, was killed while performing his devotions in a church during mass, and was succeeded by William the Norman, who was cut off in the year following. On the death of Pope Calixtus [II.], he was succeeded by Honorius [II].

126. The churches of St. Gervase at Seez, and St. Ouen at Rouen, were consecrated.

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1126. William, duke of Poitiers, William, duke of Apulia, and Abbot Roger, died.
1128. Germund, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, died.
1130. Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem, died on the eighteenth of the calends of September [August 15], and was succeeded by Fulk, count of Anjou, his son-in-law.
Hugh of Amboise, abbot of Reading, was made archbishop of Rouen.
Pope Honorius died at Rome; and there was forthwith a grievous schism in the church; Gregory, the deacon, being elected pope by some, with the name of Innocent, but Peter Anaclete was consecrated by others.
1133. The Emperor Lothaire sat down before Rome in order to restore peace to the people of God, who were in error either on the side of Gregory or Peter; but after seven weeks he retired without settling this affair.
Richard, bishop of Bayeux, died . . . .
1134. Robert II., duke of Normandy, died at Cardiff, and was buried at Gloucester.
Alfonso, king of Arragon, died, after the battle of Fraga.
Chartres and Mans were destroyed by fire.
1135. Henry, king of England, the firm lover of peace and protector of the church, died. He was succeeded by his nephew, Stephen.
1137. Lewis Theobald, king of France, died. His son Lewis succeeded him.
Warin, abbot of St. Evroult, died.
1138. The Emperor Lothaire died, while he was on his return, after reducing Apulia to submission. He was succeeded by Conrad, the nephew of the Emperor Charles. Roger, king of Sicily, recovered Apulia, and his son Roger having taken Pope Innocent, he made peace with him on his own terms.
Peter, the schismatical pope, died suddenly.
1139. Pope Innocent held a great council at Rome.
1140. Richard, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Ralph.

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1141. John, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by his nephew Arnulf.

Here Vitalis brings his Ecclesiastical History to an end.[1]

1142. There was a great earthquake in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and throughout nearly all the diocese.

Pope Innocent died, and was succeeded by Celestine.

1143. On the death of Celestine, he was succeeded the same year by Lucius.

1144. Eugenius succeeded Lucius.

1145. In many countries, and chiefly on the borders of France and Germany, men took the place of oxen in drawing carts loaded with corn and the other necessaries of life; and, attended with many divine manifestations, brought them from all quarters for the use of God's servants, without any display of vanity.

1147. The Emperor Conrad, and Lewis, king of France, undertaking a crusade to Jerusalem, with an immense army, marched by Hungary and Constantinople . . . . . treachery . . . . . through certain deserts . . . . perished.

1150. Henry, growing up to youthful age, is made duke of Normandy.

1151. Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, died; a prince, just . . . . victorious, pious; and distinguished for his singular good faith, and . . . . in arms, valour, and eloquence.

1153. Pope Eugenius died. Anastasius succeeded.

1154. A treaty of peace is concluded between Stephen, king of England, and Henry, duke of Normandy. In the same . . . . Lewis, king of France . . . . duke of Normandy. Likewise, in the same . . . . . he was invested in the duchy of Aquitaine.

Pope Anastasius died, and was succeeded by Adrian.

1157. In this year the king reduced the Welsh to subjection.

Gerard, bishop of Séez, died; a man of eloquence and

[1] See before, p. 222; and the *Notice* M. Delisle prefixed to the present volume. This entry in the Chronicle appears to have been written in the fourteenth century.

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pious memory. He was succeeded by Frogere, the almoner of Henry II.

1158 A wonderful alliance was contracted between the king of England and King Lewis, cemented by a union of the children of the two kings; and all the territories which had belonged to his predecessors were restored to King Henry.

1160. Robert, a monk of Bec, was made abbot of St. Evroult.

Pope Adrian died, and was succeeded by Alexander.

1163. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, died. He was young, brave, and a true lover of Christianity. His brother Amauri succeeded him.

Pope Alexander held a council at Tours, in which he excommunicated the schismatic Octavian and his adherents.

1165. Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Robert, bishop of Evreux.

1170. Henry, the son of Henry II., was, by his father's command, crowned as king at London by the archbishop of York.

Thomas, the righteous archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered by impious men in his own church on the fifth day before Christmas.

1174. Lewis, king of France, laid siege to Rouen with his army; but the citizens making a stout resistance, he drew off in disgrace.

1177. Robert, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Ralph.

1179. Pope Alexander held a great council at Rome.

1180. Lewis, king of France, died, and was succeeded by his son Philip.

1181. Pope Alexander III. died, and was succeeded by Lucius.

1182. Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by Ralph.

1183. King Henry the younger, son of Henry II., died.

Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Walter.

1184. Frogere, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Lisiard.

1185. Pope Lucius III. died, and was succeeded by Urban

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1187. Pope Urban died, and was succeeded by Clement.

1188. Ralph, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Richard.

1189. Richard, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Reginald.

Henry II., king of England, died at Chinon. He was a good prince, a lover of peace, and distinguished for his good faith, prowess in arms, courage, and eloquence. His son Richard succeeded to the throne.

1190. In this year Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, departed on a crusade to Jerusalem, with an immense army, on the morrow of St. John the Baptist [June 25].

1191. Pope Clement died, and was succeeded by Celestine.

Ralph, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by William.

The island of Cyprus was reduced to submission to the king of England, after the prince who had usurped its dominion had been defeated in three engagements. Likewise, in this same year, the city of Acre was surrendered to the Christians on the third of the ides of July [July 13].

1193. Richard, king of England, is made captive by the emperor of Germany when returning from Jerusalem.

In this year Philip, king of France, laid siege to Rouen; but gaining no advantage, . . . he retired.

1194. The king of England returns from Germany to his own dominions.

Philip besieges Verneuil.

Meanwhile (?) king Richard razes the fortresses of Beaumont and Evreux. He reduces by force Locheth (?), and many other castles.

This year the king of France burnt Evreux, with all the churches and abbeys.

1198. Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, fought a battle this year at Gisors.

Pope Celestine died, and was succeeded by Pope Innocent III.

1199. Now died Richard, the noble king of England, son of

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Henry II., whose prowess and valour ought to be had in everlasting remembrance. He was succeeded by his brother John.

1200. Warine, bishop of Evreux, died, and was succeeded by Robert de Roia.

William, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by Jourdain.

1201. In this year Philip, king of France, besieged the castle of Balou.

Lisiard, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Sylvester.

1202. There was a movement of pilgrims to Jerusalem.

Geoffrey, count of Perche, [died].

This year the king of France besieged Radepont and Arques.

Meanwhile, John, king of England, at Mirabel, took Arthur, count of Brittany, with many nobles, and an immense number of soldiers, who had revolted against him.

Robert, bishop of Evreux, died, and was succeeded by Luke.

1203. There was an earthquake through nearly all Palestine, by which houses and cities were laid in ruins.

1204. This year John, king of England, left Normandy, because nearly all the great lords deserted him, and gave their adhesion to Philip, king of France.[1]

1208. Otho, son of the duke of Saxony, and nephew of the king of England, and count of Poitiers, received the imperial crown, with great honours, at Rome in the month of November.

Walter, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Robert.

1212. The noble countess of Leicester, who loved the monks of St. Evroult as sons, died.

1214. In this year Reginald, abbot of St. Evroult, was deposed. Herbert succeeded him.

1215. Pope Innocent held a great council at Rome.

1216. Lewis, son of the king of France, went to England.

[1] This article, and the preceding one, are not found in the Manuscript of St. Evroult. (A.)

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1216. John, king of England, died, and was succeeded by his son Henry.
Pope Innocent died, and was succeeded by Honorius.
1217. Herbert, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Geoffrey.
Thomas, count of Perche, was slain.
1218. Geoffrey, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Roger, prior of Preaux.
Jourdain, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by William.
1219. This year the city of Damietta was taken by the Christians on the nones of November [Nov. 5].
1222. Damietta was abandoned by the Christians.
Luke, bishop of Evreux, died, and was succeeded by Ralph.
1223. Philip, king of France, died on the day before the ides of July [July 14].[1] He was succeeded by his son Louis.
Sylvester, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Gervase, an Englishman.
The same year died Ralph, bishop of Evreux, and was succeeded by Richard, abbot of Bec.
Robert, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Theobald.
1225. Pope Honorius died, and was succeeded by Gregory, bishop of Ostia.
William, bishop of Catalonia, and count of Perche, died.
1226. Louis, king of France, died, and was succeeded by his son Louis, a boy, who is now canonized.[2]
1228. Gervase, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Hugh, prior of the canons.
1229. Alas! the university of the clerks deserted Paris.
Theobald, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Maurice, bishop of Mans.
1231. The foundations of the church of St. Evroult were laid this year by brother Baldwin.[3]

[1] The MS. B adds "at Mans."
[2] *Qui nunc sanctus est.* This last clause of the sentence was added in the 14th century.
[3] See vol. iii. note pp. 246, 247.

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1232. Philip, count of Boulogne, died.

1233. Robert, count of Dreux, died.

Roger, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Nicholas.

1235. Maurice, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Peter Romanus.

1236. Richard, bishop of Evreux, who had been abbot of Bec, died, and was succeeded by Ralph, archdeacon of Creuilly.

1237. Peter Romanus, archbishop of Rouen, was consecrated in this year.

1239. Many nobles went on the crusades to Jerusalem from France.

1240. Hugh, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Geoffrey, a canon of Rouen.

1243. Pope Gregory VIII. (?) died, and was succeeded by Innocent.

Ralph, bishop of Evreux, died, and was succeeded by John, dean of Turon.

1245. This year Peter, archbishop of Rouen, being made a cardinal, he was succeeded by Odo, abbot of St. Denis.

1247. Nicholas, abbot of St. Evroult, joined the order of the Carthusians. He was succeeded by Richard de Courjon.

1248. Odo, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Rigault, of the order of Friars-Minors.

In this year, on the ides of July [July 15], Louis, king of France, began his march to the Holy Land, at the head of his army.

1249. This year Damietta was taken by the Crusaders, that is, by King Louis; but in the same year the king was taken prisoner, and an immense number of the Christians were slain, and the king evacuated Damietta.

1250. William de Pont de l'Arche, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by Fulk Dastin, dean of that church.

1255. Died, John of St. Evroult, dean of Lisieux, who conferred many benefits upon us.

1257. Geoffrey, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Thomas d'Aunon.

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1258. The heir of Saint Céneri was born on the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist.

1261. Pope Alexander died, and was succeeded by Urban.

1262. William, a knight, and lord of Saint-Céneri, died.

264. Pope Urban died, and was succeeded by Clement.

1265. In this year Symon, earl of Montfort, made war against Henry, king of England, and Richard, king of Germany, with their sons, and in the first battle took them prisoners; but in the end he, and his son Henry, alas! fell miserably by their swords.

1266. Charles, count of Anjou, having been crowned king of Sicily by Pope Clement, fought a battle with Manfred, at Benevento, and, by God's grace, became master of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily.

1267. Fulk, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by Master Guy de Merula.

1269. Richard de Valle-de-Courjon, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Nicholas de Villaribus, prior of Molêine.

1270. Louis, king of France, went on a crusade to Jerusalem, with many of his nobles, and died the same year on his return.

1272. Henry [III.], king of England, died, and was succeeded by his son Edward.

1274. This year brother Nicholas de Villaribus made a voluntary resignation of the charge of the abbey, and was succeeded by William de Montpinçon.

1275. Pope Gregory X. died, and was succeeded by Innocent V., who died the same year.

Odo Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by Master William de Flava-Curia three years afterwards.

1276. On the morrow of the nativity of the blessed Mary [Sept. 9], a daughter was born to the heir of Saint-Céneri.

1278. Thomas d'Aunon, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Master John de Berners, official of Lisieux.

Pope Nicholas died, Pope Martin succeeded him.

1281. Philip de Cahors, bishop of Evreux, died, and was succeeded by Nicholas d'Autueil.

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1282. William de Montpinçon, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Geoffrey de Girouart, prior of Alfay.

1283. Master J. Cholet, the legate of our lord the pope, assembled a very numerous synod at Paris, after the feast of the assumption of St. Mary [August 15].

There was a violent thunder-storm about the time of high mass on Easter day, by which many persons, chiefly in the diocese of Séez, were injured.

1284. Charles, king of Sicily, died.

On the eve of St. Catherine [Nov. 24], a violent storm of wind blew down many towers, woods, and trees; the tower newly erected at St. Evroult then fell.

1285. Philip, king of France, died at Narbonne, on his journey back from Arragon, and was succeeded by his son Philip.

The same year died Peter, the infidel king of Arragon, and was succeeded by Alfonzo.

Guy, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by Master William d'Arnieres, chanter of that cathedral.

1289. Louis, the eldest son of Philip, king of France, was born on the eve of Saint Denis [October 9].

1290. On the sixteenth of the calends of March [Feb. 14], at twelve o'clock, the moon suffered an eclipse, and on the same night an earthquake was felt in several places.

1291. The summer was excessively hot, and the winter severely cold, with snow and frost. . . . .

This year Acre was laid in ruins by the Pagans, all . . . . being put to the sword. At Rouen . . . . the archbishop . . . . Haricuria, bishop of Coutances . . . . councils.

1294. Master J. de Berners, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Master Philip Boulenger, prior of St. Gervase, in the same place.

John, lord of Saint-Céneri, died.

The same year, in the month of May, there was a violent inundation in the district of Exmes, which sud-

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denly did great damage, breaking through the banks of the fish-ponds, burying arable-lands and meadows, uprooting trees, levelling mills, bridges and houses, beating down the corn, besides many human beings and animals perishing in the floods.

1296. There was such an inundation of water this year, that the great bridge and the little bridge at Paris fell, and all the bridges over the Seine were partly ruined, except Pont-de-l'Arche.[1] This happened about Christmas. Hence the verses:—

> "Parisiis vere pontes, gens, tecta ruerunt
> Undis, milleno, c bis, novies decta, seno."
>
> "Swept by the floods, men, houses, bridges mix
> At Paris, in twelve hundred, ninety-six."

1298. The remains of St. Lewis, king of France, were translated this year; and the king of England, and the count of Flanders, rebelled against the king of France, St. Lewis's nephew.

This year died William d'Arnieres, of pious memory, formerly bishop of Lisieux. He was succeeded by John, of the order of Friars-Minors, who was then bishop of Rennes in Brittany.

1303. John de Semes, of the order of Friars-Minors, bishop of Lisieux, died, and was succeeded by Guy de Harcourt.

This year brother Geoffrey de Gyrouart voluntarily resigned, and was succeeded by brother Thomas de Ductu.

1306. This year the Jews were expelled from the kingdom of France.

1307. This year peace was made and ratified between the kings of England and France, and the king of England received the daughter of the king of France in marriage, the nuptials being solemnized at Boulogne-sur-mer.

1309. This year died Thomas de Ductu, abbot of this

[1] A town on the right bank of the Seine, a little above its confluence with the Eure, at which there is a bridge of twenty-two arches over the Seine.

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monastery; who was succeeded by Nicholas de Ponte-Cardonis.[1]

1314. Philip, king of France, died this year, and was succeeded by Louis, his eldest son, who took to wife the daughter of the king of Hungary.

The same year Enguerran de Marigni was hanged, and many other outrages were committed in the kingdom.

1315. This year brother Nicholas de Ponte-Cardonis made a voluntary resignation of the charge of the abbey of St. Evroult; and was succeeded by brother Ralph Grente, the prior, who was then in England, but by divine inspiration unanimously elected abbot.

Master Philip Boulenger, bishop of Séez, died, and was succeeded by Master Richard de Centilleio (?) prior of the convent of the same place.

1316. This year died Lewis, king of France and Navarre, and was succeeded by his brother Philip.

[1] A manuscript brought from the abbey of St. Evroult, and now preserved in the Library at Alençon (f. 58. v.), has the following entries relative to this period. The writing is of the 14th century:

1313. This year Louis and Charles, the sons of Philip, king of France, were divorced from their wives for cause of fornication. They afterwards succeeded to the crown.

1315. This year the lord abbot, N. de Ductu, made a voluntary resignation of the office of abbot of St. Evroult, and was succeeded by Ralph Grente.

1316. There was an earthquake this year in these parts.

1320. The lord Ralph Grente, abbot of St. Evroult, died, and was succeeded by Richard Tiescelin.

1321. The lepers were burnt throughout almost all France, on account of the potions which they had compounded for the general destruction of the people [*universi populi*]; and [by which?] numbers of them were exterminated [*aterminati?*].

1322. This year Charles, king of France, the son of King Philip, after the death of King Philip the Younger, his brother, espoused the daughter of the king of Bohemia.

1323. In this year the daughter of the king of Bohemia died.

This year there was a battle, with great loss, between the Normans and the French, and . . . ; that is, between those who belonged to parts beyond the sea, and those on this side, and much blood was shed by both.

1324. This year great damage was done by thunder-storms.

This year the winds were very tempestuous during the spring, and many houses and trees were levelled to the ground by the fury of the storm.

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1319. This year died Master Richard de Centilleio (?) bishop of Séez, and was succeeded by William Malger, chanter of that church.

This year[1] there was a prodigious disturbance of the elements, causing great damage. Many trees were thrown down by the violence of the winds, among which, the wood . . . . of the abbot of Dive. There was thunder and great . . . .

1320. This year died Ralph Grente, abbot of St. Evroult, who was succeeded by Richard Tiescelin.

1321. The lepers were burnt throughout the kingdom of France.

Philip, king of France, died; and was succeeded by his brother Charles, at that time count of Marche.

1324. The kings of France and England engaged in war respecting the territory of Gascony, and the castle of La Riole was taken by the king of France.

In the same year died [Mary], queen of France, the daughter of the king of Bohemia, as also her infant son. After her death king Charles married the daughter of Louis, count of Evreux, who was his cousin-german.

1327. Charles, king of France, died, and was succeeded by his son, a child in the cradle, who lived only about half a year. After his death Philip, a cousin-german of king Charles, and who had been jointly with the queen, guardian of the boy-king and regent, ascended the throne.

In this year died Geoffrey, bishop of Evreux, and was succeeded by brother J. de Préaux, of the order of Friars-Preachers.

1330. In this year died William, archbishop of Rouen, who had before been a monk and bishop of Langres. He was succeeded by Peter, a monk, who was archbishop of Soissons, and a man of high dignity.

1334. This year died Richard Tiescelin, abbot of this monastery; brother Nicholas Herbert, then the cloisterer, succeeded him.

[1] It is doubtful whether this entry belongs to the year here assigned to it.

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1334. In the same year died Pope John XVII., who was succeeded by Benedict XII., a monk of the Cistercian order.

1336. This year died Guy de Harcourt, bishop of Lisieux, who was succeeded by William Chermont.

1342. This year died Benedict XII., who was succeeded by Clement VI. This prelate's rise was most extraordinary. His original name was Master Peter Rogers, master in theology; and he was formerly a monk of the order of St. Benedict. After that he was made successively abbot of Fécamp and archbishop [of Soissons]. He then became archbishop of Rouen, and was taken from thence and made a cardinal.

1346. This year the king of England entered France, landing at Saint Waast-la-Hogue. After trampling under foot nearly the whole of Normandy and France, returning by the bridge of Poiss (?) he burnt Wulgatium.[1]

The two kings joined battle at a vill called Crécy, where the king of England gained the victory, and the king of Bohemia, with two dukes, six counts, and a great multitude of nobles, were slain. He took the town of Calais, and held it for a long time.[2]

1347. This year, brother Nicholas Herbert voluntarily resigned the charge of the abbey of St. Evroult, and was succeeded by brother J. du Bois-Guescelin, who was that time cellarer at the before-named abbey.

1348. In this year a disease, called by the learned epidemy, came into the world, beginning in the east and spreading westward. . . . . .

[1] St. Germain-en-Laye?

[2] This entry, recording the irruption of Edward III. into Normandy and France, followed by the battle of Crécy in 1346, is generally exact. The English king advanced along the valley of the Seine, and his light troops burned St. Germain, and several villages within sight of Paris. But that he crossed the Seine by the bridge of Poissy is contrary to the accounts given by historians of his having found all the bridges over the Seine and the Somme broken down. He forded the Somme at Blanchetaque, near its embouchure, while the French were compelled to ascend its left bank; and the two armies met at Crécy. The battle was fought on the 26th of August, 1346

A.D.

1350. This year died Philip, king of France, and was succeeded by his son John.

1352. This year died Nicholas Herbert, abbot of this monastery.

1353. In this year . . . . . Johanna, lady of Moles, who was possessed by a devil, obtained a cure through the merits of St. Evroult.

1358. This year the lord John du Bois-Guescelin, abbot of this monastery, brought to us one shoulder-bone, and one joint of the thumb, of our most holy father St. Evroult, on the day of his translation.

1363. John, king of France, died at London, in England, and was succeeded by his son Charles.

1366. John du Bois-Guescelin, abbot of this monastery, died, and was succeeded by Philip the Breton.

1370. Urban V. died, and was succeeded by Gregory XI.

1392. This year died the lord abbot Philip the Breton, and the same year the abbey of St. Evroult was given in commendam, by Pope Clement VII., to a certain cardinal, by the title of Sta. Cecilia, whose name was De Vergey. He held the abbey for the space of four years or thereabouts, and was then succeeded by Robert de Tellier, a monk of Bec, and prior of St. Ymer.

1408. This year died brother Robert de Tellier, who was at first a monk de Bosco [? of Bec], and conferred many benefits on the abbey, which he ruled for the space of thirteen years or more. He was succeeded by brother Michael Philippi de St. Martin, prior of Noyon.

1415. The English put many Frenchmen to the sword on St. Crispin's day.[1]

Then also the town of Harfleur was taken.[2]

1438. This year died Michael Philippi, abbot of this monastery; afterwards Robert l'Apostole succeeded.

[1] In the text this entry is in hexameter verse:—

"Crispini multos stravit gens Anglica Françoș."

We have translated as closely as possible the brief record of the victory of Azincour, fought on the feast of St. Crispin [October 25].

[2] Henry V. landed at Harfleur

A.D.

1444. A truce was made between the kings of France and England.

1444. In this year the king entered the city of Rouen.

1450. This year Normandy was recovered from the English, and reduced under the dominion of the French.

1459. This year died brother Robert l'Apostle, our abbot, afterwards brother William Selleys succeeded him.

1460. This year there was a deadly pestilence in the monastery, of which twelve monks died.

1461. Charles, the most illustrious king of France, died this year, and Louis, his most noble son, reigned in his stead, and did many wonderful works in his kingdom.

1466. On the twenty-second of September, as we sorrowfully record, the venerable Lord William Selleys, the late humble abbot of this monastery, departed this life. He was a native of the bourg of Ouche, and repaired, with great magnificence, the buildings of the abbey of St. Evroult, which had become ruinous in all parts in consequence of the wars. He also erected new buildings, and long and largely augmented the church revenues. Need more be added? Having governed the abbey well, both in spirituals and temporals, he afterwards made a blessed end during his journey to Rome, and his body was interred in the abbey of St. Nine, five leagues distant from Dijon, near the door of the choir. He was succeeded by Jacobus d'Espinasse, a monk of Cluni.

1484. Brother Jacobus d'Espinasse, abbot of this monastery of St. Evroult, died on the last day of October in this year. He was succeeded by Anger de Brie, the prothonotary.

1503. On the third day of October, in the year 1503, died Master Anger de Brye, the commendator of this monastery of St. Evroult, and was succeeded by his nephew, Master Felix de Brye, the prothonotary.

THE END OF THE CHRONICLE.

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VI. Century. Life of Evroult, ii. 273—296.

596. Death of St. Evroult, ii. 146—294.

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841. Rouen sacked by the Northmen, i. 379; ii. 155, 296.

..... Translation of the relics of St. Ouen, i. 379; ii. 155.

853. Tours sacked by the Northmen, i. 379.

859. Noyon, i. 379; ii. 296.

863. They take Poitiers, i. 379.

876. Rollo is said to have penetrated into the basin of the Seine, i. 135; ii. 157.

886. Paris besieged by the Normans, i. 380.

..... ? Rollo storms Bayeux, marries Poppa, and Normandy is ceded to him, i. 380; ii. 157.

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1014. Death of Sweyn, i. 146.
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1016—1038. The Normans establish themselves in Italy, i. 53—55; ii. 162, 163.
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1030 (about). The abbey of the Holy Trinity at Rouen founded, i. 382.
1030—1035. Hostilities between the sons Giroie and Gilbert, count de Brionne, i. 391, 392.
1031. Death of Robert I., king of France, i. 148.
1032, March. Henry, king of France, comes to Fécamp, to demand succour from Duke Robert, which he grants, and obtains the Vexin in recompense, ii. 400.
1032. Robert, son of King Robert, obtains the duchy of Burgundy, iv. 135. The abbey of Cérisi founded, i. 382.
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1034 (about). Expedition of Gilbert, count de Brionne, into the Vimeu, i. 383.
1134 (about). Foundation of the abbey of Bec, i. 383; ii. 116.
1035 (about). Also of Conches, i. 382.
The abbeys of St. Peter and St. Léger-des-Préaux, founded, i. 383.
1035. Pilgrimage of Robert, duke of Normandy; he dies at Nice, i. 148; ii. 161, 400.
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1039. The Emperor Conrad II. dies, i. 150; and there was a great mortality, i. 150.
1040 (about). In the disorders which harassed Normandy during the duke's minority, among other lords who perished, were Turketil du Neuf-Marché, Osbern the Steward, and Henry de Ferrières, i. 149; ii. 163, 403.
Gilbert, count de Brionne, is assassinated, with Fulk of Giroie, i. 393, 449; ii. 403.
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1040, October 1. Alain III., duke of Brittany, died of poison at the siege of Montgomeri, ii. 74, 163, 400.
1040—1057. Eudes, count of Penthièvre administers the duchy of Brittany, ii. 164.
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1050. The abbey of Troarn founded, i. 389.
1050—1057. Administration of Theodoric, abbot of St. Evroult,
1052? William, duke of Normandy, defends himself bravely against Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, i. 425; ii. 410.
1053? Duke William marries Matilda of Flanders, i. 441; ii. 348.
1053. Revolt of William, count d'Arques, i. 152; ii. 405, 406.
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1054. Expedition of the king of France and his brother Eudes to Normandy; battle of Mortemer, i. 152, 153, 425; ii. 167, 349, 407—410.
Pope Leo IX. dies, iii. 349.
1055 (about). The monastery of St. Martin at Séez is restored, i. 405, 418.
1056. Death of the Emperor Henry III., and accession of his son, Henry IV., i. 417.

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1056, June 29. The prelates assembled at St. Evroult prevail on Abbot Theodoric to remain at the abbey, i. 417, 418.
August 29. Abbot Theodoric resigns, and goes to the Holy Land, i. 418—420.
1058. Death of Pope Stephen IV., i. 431.
August 1. Theodoric, late abbot of St. Evroult, dies in the Isle of Cyprus, i. 423.
1059. Election of Abbot Robert de Grantmesnil, i. 422.
June 21. His consecration as abbot of St. Evroult, i. 423.
1055—1061. His administration of the abbey, i. 424.
1060. Death of Henry I., king of France, i. 153.
War between the Normans and Anjevins—Robert Giroie takes the side of Duke William—He is besieged in the castle of St. Céneri, and dies on the 6th of February, poisoned by his wife, i. 394, 425, 426.
End of February or beginning of March. Duke William makes peace with Arnold, son of William Giroie, ii. 426.
May 6. Dedication of the chapel of St. Evroult, i. 424.
August 29. Death of Henry I., king of France, i. 430.
Accession of Philippe I., i. 430.
Death of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, i. 440; ii. 74.
His nephews, Geoffrey le Barbu and Fulk le Rechin, succeed him, ii. 74.
1060 (about). William, duke of Normandy, takes possession of Neuf-Marché-en-Lions, and gives the custody of it to Hugh de Grantmesnil and Gerald the Steward, ii. 455.
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1061. Death of Pope Nicholas II., i. 431.
William, duke of Normandy, disinherits Ralph de Toeni, Hugh de Grantmesnil, and Arnold d'Échoufour, i. 431.
Jan. 27. Robert, abbot of St. Evroult, being summoned to the court of the duke of Normandy, quits his abbey, and goes to the pope, i. 432.
February. The duke intrudes Osbern, against the will of the monks, i. 432, 433.
1061—1066. Administration of Abbot Osbern, i. 440, 443, 447, 457.
1061—1063. Incursions of Arnold d'Échaufour; he takes that castle by surprise, and burns the bourg of St. Evroult, i. 433.
1062. Death of Herbert II., count du Maine, i. 448; ii. 74. William, duke of Normandy, claims Maine for his son Robert, espoused to Margaret, Herbert's daughter. Geoffrey le Barbu, count d'Anjou, receives Robert's homage at Alençon, i. 449.
1062 ? Duke William, holding his court at Lillebonne, refuses justice to Robert de Grantmesnil, who returns from Rome with two cardinals. Robert excommunicates Osbern, the intrusive abbot, i. 434, 435.
1062 (about). The collegiate establishment of Neuf-Marché-en-Lions becomes a priory of the abbey of St. Evroult, i. 456.
1063. William, duke of Normandy, is reconciled with the barons whom he disinherited in 1061, wanting their support in his war with the Bretons and Manceaux, ii. 441.

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1063. Harold, son of Earl Godwin, comes to Normandy, and does homage to Duke William at Rouen (?), i. 459.
Harold attends the duke in his expedition against Conon, duke of Brittany, i. 459.
Duke William invades Maine, i. 448.
He takes possession of Mans on the death of Walter, count du Vexin, and his wife Biote, i. 448; ii. 79.
He compels Geoffrey de Mayenne to submit, i. 449.
Dedication of the cathedral at Rouen, ii. 7, 165, 167.
1063 (about). Robert de Grantmesnil, the late abbot of St. Evroult, repairs the abbey of St. Euphemia; Robert Guiscard also bestows upon him the abbeys of Venosa and St. Michael de Melito, i. 438, 439.
Death of Robert de Gacé, i. 449.
1063. Arnold d'Échaufour, returning from Italy, is received into favour by the duke of Normandy. He is poisoned at Courville, near Chartres, the 1st of January, 1064 (?), i. 441, 459—452.
1064. Sigefrid, archbishop of Mayence, and Gontier, bishop of Bamberg, go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, with a large company of nobles and prelates, i. 431.
(about). Hostilities between Hugh de Grantmesnil, castellan of Neuf-Marché-en-Lions, and Ralph II., count de Crépi and Valois, i. 456.
1066. Jan. 5. Death and funeral of Edward the Confessor, i. 153, 458, 460; ii. 167; iii. 349, 350.
Harold is raised to the throne, i. 460; ii. 167.
April. A comet appears, i. 153, 458.
May 27. Death of Osberne, abbot of St. Evroult, i. 457.
Tostig, being expelled from England, persuades the duke of Normandy to invade it, i. 461.
He stirs up Harold Hardraad, king of Norway, to make a descent on the island, i. (note) 464.
Pope Alexander II. exhorts the duke to the conquest of England, i. 463.
Meeting of the barons of Normandy to consult on the expedition, i. 463.
Preparations of the duke to cross the sea, i. 465.
The duke, being at Bonneville, gives the abbey of St. Evroult to Mainier, i. 466; ii. 184.
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The duke commits the abbey of St. Stephen, which he had founded at Caen, to the care of Lanfranc, i. 382, 466; ii. 2.
King Harold defeats the Norwegians in Yorkshire, i. 480.
He returns to London, and prepares to oppose the invasion of the Normans, i. 481, 482.
Sept. 29. The duke's fleet sails from St. Valeri-sur-Somme, and lands the expedition at Pevensey, i. 482.
Oct. 14. The battle of Hastings, i. 153, 483—487; ii. 167; iii. 242.
William takes possession of Dover, and receives the homage of the people of Kent, i. 488.

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1066. Edgar Atheling resigns his rights to the throne of England, and William is acknowledged by the principal lords, and the citizens of London, i. 489.
Dec. 25. William is crowned, i. 490, 491; ii. 167; iii. 242.
Death of Conon II., duke of Brittany, ii. 79.
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, establishes monks of Mount St. Michael in the church of St. Vigor at Bayeux, ii. 429.
1066 (about). The abbey of the Holy Trinity at Caen founded, i. 332; ii. 2.
1067. Foundation of Battle Abbey, ii. 2.
King William receives the submission of Edwin and Morcar at Barking. Their example followed by many English lords, ii. 4.
March. King William commits Winchester to the custody of William Fitz-Osberne, and Dover to that of the bishop of Bayeux, and embarks for Normandy, ii. 5.
April 8. He keeps Easter at Fécamp, ii. 6.
May 1. He assists at the dedication of the abbey of St. Pierre-sur-Dive, ii. 6.
July 1. He assists at that of Jumièges, ii. 16.
August 9. Death of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, ii. 7. John, bishop of Avranches, succeeds him, ii. 8. Michael is named bishop of Avranches, ii. 8.
The Anglo-Saxons, oppressed by the Normans, claim the aid of Sweyn, king of Denmark, ii. 9. Some of them take service under the Greek emperor, ii. 9, 10.
Eustace, count of Boulogne, fails in his expedition against Dover, ii. 11; he is reconciled with King William, ii. 12.
Dec. 6. William the Conqueror crosses from Dieppe to Winchester, ii. 14.
Dec. 25. He celebrates Christmas at London, ii. 14.
1068. Jan. or Feb. The Conqueror marches against Exeter and into Cornwall, ii 15, 16.
March 23. He celebrates the feast of Easter at Winchester, ii. 17.
Queen Matilda comes over to England, ii. 17.
May 11. She is crowned, ii. 17.
Birth of Henry I., King of England, ii. 17.
The English revolt under Edwin and Morcar; the Welsh support the insurgents; rebellion north of the Humber, ii. 17, 18.
The city of York submits to the king, who begins to erect castles, ii. 19.
Geoffrey le Barbu is made prisoner by his brother, Fulk le Réchin, i. 440; ii. 74; iii. 74, 75.
1069. In the beginning of the year, Robert de Comines is assassinated at Durham, and Robert Fitz-Richard at York, i. 21.
The sons of Harold make an unsuccessful descent from Ireland on the coasts of England, ii. 21.
April 12. The king celebrates Easter at Winchester, and sends the queen back to Normandy, ii. 22.
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there, and at Shrewsbury and Stafford, ii. 26, 27; the king hastens to York by a difficult winter march, ii. 27; spends Christmas at York, ii. 29; his campaign in the north and cruel devastations, ii. 28—30; builds castles, ii. 31.

1069. April 4. The Conqueror keeps Easter at Winchester, attended by cardinals from Rome, and holds a synod there, ii. 31; appoints bishops, ii. 32.

Stigand is deposed, and Lanfranc made archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 42.

William Bonne-Ame made abbot of St. Stephen at Caen, ii. 42.

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Death of Baldwin VI., count of Flanders, ii. 59.

1070. The Conqueror's administration; he endeavours to reconcile the English and Normans, ii. 44.

(about). Guitmond refuses preferment in England, ii. 51; tyranny of the Normans—the English prelates ejected from the churches, ii. 52.

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(According to Ordericus, about 1075). Lanfranc, Thomas, archbishop of York, and Rémi, bishop of Lincoln, go to Rome, ii. 115,

1071, or 1072. William the Conqueror goes over to Normandy, ii. 61.

A synod held at Rouen, ii. 61—65.

1073. William Pantulf gives Noron to the abbey of St. Evroult, ii. 207.

Death of Pope Alexander II., ii. 70; he is succeeded by Gregory VIII.

Fulk le Réchin, count of Maine, stirs up the people of Maine to revolt against the Normans, ii. 73, 74.

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1074. Conspiracy of English nobles against the king, ii. 78—81.

He comes over to England, and puts down the rebellion, ii. 82, 83.

1075. Feb. 16. Birth of the historian, Ordericus Vitalis, at Shrewsbury, ii. 113.

April 5. King William celebrates Easter at Fécamp, ii. 115.

May 31. Waltheof is beheaded on the charge of being privy to the conspiracy of the English nobles, ii. 84—86.

Hugh I. succeeds his uncle, Robert the Elder, as duke of Burgundy, iv. 135.

1076. Expedition of King William against the Bretons. Siege of Dol. Peace concluded, ii. 104. He betrothes his daughter Constance to Alan, the duke, ii. 105.

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1076. (1077 according to Ordericus). Consecration of the cathedral of Evreux, ii. 116, 209.

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1077. July 17. Death of Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, ii. 119, 120. He is succeeded by Gilbert Maminot, ii. 121.
Sept. 13. Consecration of the church of St. Stephen at Caen, ii. 116, 209.
Consecration of the churches of Bayeux and Bec, ii. 209.
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1077 ? Robert Curthose requires his father to invest him with the duchy of Normandy, and on his refusal retires to France, ii. 107, 169—172.
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1078. Philip, king of France, gives Robert Curthose a refuge in the castle of Gerberoi, ii. 177.
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1079. Jan.? King William besieges his son Robert in the castle of Gerberoi, ii. 178.
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Sept. 9. Death of John d'Avranches, archbishop of Rouen, ii. 122, 167. He is succeeded by William Bonne-Ame, ii. 123, 167, 168.
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1081. Mainier, abbot of St. Evroult, goes to England, and obtains a charter of confirmation of the possessions of the convent, dated at Winchester, ii. 253—258.
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1081—1084. Expedition of the Emperor Henry IV. in Italy, ii. 350—354.
1081 ? Nomination of Hoel to the bishopric of Mans, ii. 71, 72.
1081 ? Visit of Queen Matilda to the abbey of St. Evroult, ii. 258, 259.
1082. Dec. Assassination of Mabel, wife of Roger de Montgomery, ii. 194, 210.

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1082. William Pantulf submits to an ordeal to clear himself of this crime, ii. 210.
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1082? Robert Curthose again quits his father's dominions, ii. 173.
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1083. Nov. 2. Death of Queen Matilda, ii. 376, 377.
Foundation of the abbey of Shrewsbury, ii. 197—203.
1083—1085. Hubert, viscount of Maine, revolts. King William marches against him, and besieges the castle of Saint-Susanne. He makes terms with Hubert, ii. 377—381.
1084. Robert Guiscard liberates the pope from his confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, and sacks Rome, ii. 352—364.
He returns to Illyria, ii. 366.
1084, 1085. Intrigues of Sichelguade, wife of Robert Guiscard, to procure the death of Bohemond, her step-son, ii. 366—368.
1085. Death and burial of Robert Guiscard, ii. 371, 372.
Death of Pope Gregory VII., ii. 462.
Ordericus Vitalis is sent to Normandy, and enters the abbey of St. Evroult, ii. 113; iv.
1086. Domesday-book compiled. The survey commenced in 1080, ii. 51; and was now completed, ii. 382.
Canute IV., king of Denmark, assassinated while preparing an expedition against England, ii. 382—384.
Accession of Pope Victor, ii. 462.
1087. William the Conqueror asserts his rights to the Vexin, ii. 398, 400.
End of July. He lays siege to Mantes, ii. 400.
August 14. Death of his cousin, Gilbert d'Aufay, ii. 425.
Last illness of William the Conqueror, ii. 401, 402; his dying discourse, ii. 403—413; bequeaths his states and treasure, ii. 414; sets at liberty Morcar and other prisoners, ii. 416.
His death, Sept. 9, i. 153; ii. 417, 418, 424; his body is carried to Caen, ii. 419; his funeral, ii. 420, 424; his tomb, ii. 425.
William Rufus goes over to England with the letter written by his father to Lanfranc before his death, ii. 424; iii. 199
Robert Curthose becomes duke of Normandy, ii. 424.
Sept. 29. Coronation of William Rufus, ii. 424.
Death of Simon de Montfort, William Paganel, and several other Norman barons, ii. 425, 426.
Robert de Belèsme, William, count d'Evreux, and Ralph de Conches, expel the garrisons placed in their castles by the Conqueror, ii. 427.
Translation of the body of St. Nicholas from Myra to Bari, ii. 384—395.
1088. Feb. 11. Death of Durand, abbot of Troarn, ii. 460; Arnulf succeeds him, ii. 461.
The barons revolt against William Rufus, who besieges Tunbridge and Rochester castles, ii. 432—441.

A.D.

July. Incursions of the Welsh under Griffyth-ap-Conan. Death of Robert de Rhuddlan. His burial, ii. 442—450.

1088. Robert Curthose gives the Cotentin to his brother, Henry II., ii. 431.

In the summer. Henry comes over to England, and is arrested with Robert de Belèsme, on his return, ii. 451; he is released, ii. 462.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, excites Duke Robert to attack Roger de Montgomery. He seizes Balon and Saint-Céneri. Peace is concluded, ii. 452—457.

Geoffrey, son of the count of Perche, attacks the duke, ii. 459, 460.

Accession of Pope Urban II., ii. 462.

Peace restored between Bohemond and Roger, the son of Robert Guiscard, ii. 464.

1089. Jan. 15. Death of Robert, abbot of Séez, ii. 464; he is succeeded by Ralph d'Escures, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 465.

May 28. Death of Lanfranc, ii. 465; iii. 8.

William Rufus, by the advice of Ralph Flambard, leaves the English sees vacant, ii. 466—469.

He designs to invade Normandy; Stephen d'Aumale and other barons support him, ii. 471. Duke Robert commits its defence to Elias de Saint-Saens, ii. 474.

Robert gives Bertrade de Montfort to Réchin, count d'Anjou, ii. 475.

The count introduces the fashion of long-peaked shoes—wearing long hair in vogue. The nobles are dissolute and licentious, ii. 477—479.

Edgar Atheling is at the court of Robert Curthose, ii. 476.

War between Ascelin Goel and William de Bréteuil. Death of Amauri de Montfort, ii. 484—487.

Death of William de Warrenne, founder of the priory of Lewes, ii. 472; his tomb and epitaph, ii. 472, 473.

1090. Revolt of the Manceaux. Hugh, son of Azo, marquis of Tuscany, made count. He resigns in favour of his cousin Elias, ii. 480—484.

Roger de Beaumont recovers the castle of Brionne, ii. 487—492.

Hostilities between William, count d'Evreux, and Ralph de Toeni, lord of Conches, ii. 493—496.

Prince Henry, count of the Cotentin, prepares for war, ii. 498.

November. Insurrection at Rouen, fomented by William Rufus, quelled by Prince Henry. Execution of Conan, the ringleader, ii. 499—502.

Robert de Belèsme, at the zenith of his power in Normandy, ii. 504; iii. 30, 31. Hugh de Grantmesnil and Richard de Courcy resist him, ii. 505—507.

1090 (about). Stephen, chanter of the abbey of St. Nicholas at Angers, contrives to purloin an arm of St. Nicholas from Bari, ii. 395, 396.

1091. Robert de Belèsme is forced to raise the siege of the castle of Exmes, defended by Gilbert de Laigle, who fell the next year, ii. 485, 486.

January. Robert Curthose besieges the castle of Courci, which is obstinately defended, ii. 507—510.

A.D.
1091. January. William Rufus lands in Normandy. Holds his court at Eu. The two brothers are reconciled at Rouen, ii. 510.
Same month. A vision of purgatory by the priest of Bonneval, ii. 511—519.
Jan. 23. Death of Gerard, bishop of Séez, ii. 510.
March. King William and Duke Robert besiege their brother Henry in Mount St. Michael. The prince is forced to take refuge in France, ii. 520, 521.
June 22. Serlo, abbot of St. Evroult, is made bishop of Séez, ii. 521.
July 21. Roger du Sap is elected abbot of St. Evroult, and comes over to Windsor to receive confirmation, ii. 522, 523.
Robert Curthose accompanies his brother William to England, ii. 522, 523.
Sept. War with Malcolm, king of Scots; peace restored by Robert's mediation, iii. 9—11.
1092. Hostilities between Ascelin Goel and William de Bréteuil, ii. 487; iii. 22, 23.
Prince Henry obtains possession of Damfront, and ravages the territories of Robert Curthose, iii. 1, 2.
Death of Nicholas, abbot of St. Stephen at Ouen, and nephew of Duke Robert, iii. 37.
Death of Rémi, bishop of Lincoln, iii. 200. He is succeeded by Robert Bloet, iii. 201.
William Pantulf brings some relics of St. Nicholas from Apulia, ii. 396, 397.
1093. Fresh hostilities between Ascelin Goel and William de Bréteuil, iii. 23.
Philip I. marries Bertrade de Montfort, repudiating Bertha, iii. 3, 4, 63.
St. Anselm appointed archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 465, 470; iii. 9.
Death of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and his queen, Margaret, iii. 11, 13.
Death of Simeon, abbot of Ely, iii. 201.
1093? Death of Hugh de Grantmesnil, the founder of St. Evroult, iii. 54, 55.
1094. March? The king of France and duke of Normandy besiege Bréval, iii. 24.
Hostilities between Robert de Belèsme and Robert Giroie, iii. 26—28.
A severe drought and famine, ii. 168; iii. 61.
1094. July 27. Death of Roger de Montgomery, ii. 203; iii. 25.
1095. A conspiracy against William Rufus, which fails. Robert de Mowbray is imprisoned. Treatment of the other conspirators, iii. 17—22.
The king restores three Norwegian merchant-ships, and compensates the merchants, iii. 18.
March. Council of Piacenza, iii. 60.
April 4? A brilliant phenomenon of falling-stars, ii. 168. It was remarked by Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, a great philosophers, from his observatory, iii. 62.
Oct. 25. Urban II. consecrates an altar at the abbey of Cluni, iii. 63.

A.D.
1095. Nov. Council of Clermont; Urban preaches the Crusade, i. 154; ii. 168; iii. 63—68, 204.
Nov. 26. Death of Gontard, abbot of Jumièges, while at the council of Clermont, ii. 66, 67; iii. 207. He is succeeded by Tancard, and then by Urso, ii. 67; iii. 207.
There prevailed a drought, pestilence, and famine, i. 154; ii. 168.
1095 ? Roger de Beaumont becomes a monk in the abbey of St. Evroult, iii. 33, 34.
1096. Jan. 2. Death of William, bishop of Durham, iii. 200.
Feb. 10, 11. The moon eclipsed this night, iii. 68, 69.
Feb. A synod at Rouen, iii. 69—72.
Feb. 10. Urban II. dedicates the church of St. Nicholas at Angers, iii. 74.
March 16—22. Council at Tours, iii. 74.
March. Peter the Hermit, and the Crusaders, depart for the Holy Land, iii. 75. April 12. He reaches Cologne. Joined by multitudes; progress of the pilgrims, iii. 76—79.
Many French lords take the cross, iii. 77, 78, 80.
Other Crusaders, and especially the Normans of Italy, iii. 81—83.
Duke Godfrey pledges his castle of Bouillon ? iii. 204.
July. Walter de Poissi dies in Bulgaria, iii. 77.
Sept. Robert Curthose mortgages the duchy of Normandy to William Rufus, and sets forth on the Crusade, iii. 80, 205.
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, departs for the Holy Land, ii. 430; iii. 205.
Sept. 29. The pilgrims receive their first check in Asia Minor, iii. 84—86.
November ? Robert Curthose, and Odo, bishop of Bayeux, visit Pope Urban at Rome, and pass the winter in Apulia, iii. 82, 206.
Dec. 23. Godfrey de Bouillon arrives under the walls of Constantinople, iii. 86, 87.
1096 ? Meeting at Rouen between Elias, count of Maine, and William Rufus, iii. 223, 224.
1097. William Rufus asserts his claims to the Vexin, and prepares to enforces them by arms, iii. 208. He erects the frontier fortress of Gisors, iii. 209. Skirmishes between the English and French armies, iii. 210.
Feb. Death of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, at Palermo, ii. 430; iii. 205. He is succeeded by Thorold, iii. 206.
Dec. 29. Death of Baldwin, abbot of St. Edmondsbury, iii. 200.
Death of Hoel, bishop of Mans, who is succeeded by Hildebert, iii. 226, 227.
St. Anselm leaves England, and retires to Italy, iii. 202, 203, 237, 238.
1097 ? Elias, count of Maine, defeats Robert de Belèsme, iii. 221. Elias fortifies the castle of Dangeul. William Rufus marches to the aid of Robert, without success, iii. 225, 226.
In the spring. Duke Robert and the Crusaders, who had wintered in Italy, cross the Adriatic Sea, iii. 90.
May and June. Nice is besieged and taken, iii. 93—97.
July 1. The Crusaders gain a victory over the Saracens, iii. 100—102.

A.D.
1097. Oct. 21. They lay siege to Antioch, iii. 108.
Edessa conquered by Baldwin, iii. 143—148.
1098. Sept. 27. An aurora borealis, iii. 193, 211.
Dec. 25. An eclipse of the sun, iii. 193.
End of April. Robert de Belèsme takes the count of Maine prisoner, and conducts him to the king at Rouen, iii. 228, 229.
June. The king's expedition into Maine, iii. 229—231.
July ? Fulk le Réchin lays siege to Balon. The king marches to its relief. Terms of peace agreed on, iii. 232—235.
Sept. 27. William Rufus marches against the French; halts at Conches, iii. 211.
His army ravages the Vexin as far as Pontoise, and assaults Chaumont; fails before that place, Mountfort, Epernon, and other castles, iii. 211, 212. A truce is agreed on, and in the autumn the king returns to England, iii. 212.
1098 (before). Conquests of Magnus III., king of Norway, in the Orkney and Shetland islands, iii. 215—217. His son Sigurd's naval expedition to the Holy Land, iii. 213.
1093—1098. Expedition of Magnus III. to the Isles and Ireland, iii. 216. The fleet appears off the coast of Wales. Hugh de Montgomery is slain, ii. 203; iii. 218, 219. He is succeeded as earl of Shrewsbury by Robert de Belèsme, his brother, iii. 220.
1098. Death of Walkeline, bishop of Winchester, iii. 200.
The Cistercian order founded, iii. 41—48.
June 28. Antioch taken by the Crusaders, iii. 142.
Autumn. The main body rest; some expeditions are made, iii. 149—152.
Richard, prince of Capua, is restored by his uncle Roger, count of Sicily, Tancred's son, iii. 203.
Oct. A council at Bari, iii. 204.
Nov. 27. The Crusaders proceed on their march, and take Marrah; are delayed there by quarrels among the chiefs, iii. 149.
1099. Jan. 13. The Crusaders resume their march by the sea-coast, iii. 158.
After Easter (April 10). Count Elias revolts against William Rufus. In the month of June he enters Mans. The garrison of Normans burn the place, iii. 238—240.
Middle of May. The Crusaders quit Tripoli; reach Cæsarea by Whit-Sunday (May 29), and invest Jerusalem on the 6th (or 7th) of June, iii. 166—169.
July 5. Jerusalem taken by storm, after a siege of twenty-eight days, i. 154; ii. 198; iii. 169—180.
July 23 or 24. Godfrey de Bouillon is elected king, iii. 181—256.
Month of July. William Rufus hastens over to Normandy on the summons of Robert de Belèsme, and landing at Touque, marches into Maine, iii. 240—244.
July 29. Death of Urban II., who is succeeded by Paschal II., i. 154; iii. 244.
August 14. Battle of Ascalon, iii. 185—190, 250.
August 29. Roger du Sap, abbot of St. Evroult, receives the benediction, iii. 245.

A.D.
1099. Nov. 13. The abbey church at St. Evroult consecrated, ii. 168, 191; iii. 247, 248.
Dec. 3. Death of Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, iii. 200.
End of the year. Stephen, count de Blois, resolves to return to the Crusade, iii. 249.
1100. Robert Curthose and other Crusaders return home, iii. 250; iv. 108, 109.
Marriage of Robert with Sibylla, daughter of Geoffrey de Conversana, iii. 256.
William, count of Poitiers, mortgages his states to William Rufus to raise funds for his crusade, iii. 258.
About May 7. Death of Richard, natural son of Robert Curthose, in the New Forest, iii. 259.
June. Visions predicting the death of William Rufus, iii. 260—262.
August 2. William Rufus slain while hunting in the New Forest, i. 154; ii. 168; iii. 263, 264, 267. Buried at Winchester, iii. 265.
August 5. Coronation of Henry I., ii. 168; iii. 267.
August. Elias restored to his county of Maine, iii. 273—275.
August. Expedition of the count of Evreux and Ralph de Conches against Robert de Meulan, iii. 272.
Sept. Duke Robert returns to Normandy, and goes in pilgrimage to Mount St. Michael, iii. 272; iv. 109.
October. Death of Geoffrey, count de Mortain, and William de Moulins, iv. 108.
About Nov. Marriage of Henry I. with Matilda, iii. 270.
Louis, son of the French king, comes to the court of Henry I., iii. 352. His stepmother, Bertrade, attempts to get rid of him, iii. 353—355.
Death of Godfrey de Bouillon. He is succeeded by Baldwin, iii. 299.
Bohemond is taken prisoner by the Turks, iii. 307—322.
1100 (about). Visit of Philip I. to Maule, ii. 236.
His pilgrimage to Parnes, i. 479.
1101. July 27. Death of Hugh, earl of Chester. His son Richard succeeds him, ii. 283.
League for placing Robert Curthose on the throne of England, iii. 277—279.
Corrupt administration of Robert Flambard, iii. 280, 281.
August 1. Robert Curthose crosses over to England, iii. 282.
The two brothers come to terms of agreement, iii. 285, 286. At the approach of winter Robert returns to Normandy, iii. 287.
William, the son of Robert Curthose by Sibylla, is born at Rouen, iii. 257, 272.
Louis le Gros besieges Montmorenci, iii. 424.
Death of Roger I., count of Sicily, iv. 134.
Crusade of the counts of Poitou and Blois, and their companions, iii. 288—293.
1102. Jan. Death of William de Breteuil, ii. 191; iii. 342.
1102. June 3. Death of Odelerius, the father of Ordericus, ii. 203.
August. Death of Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, iii. 287.

A.D.
1102. Henry I. mulcts or disinherits the barons who had leagued against him, and prefers men of low rank, iii. 325, 327—330.
The king summons Robert de Belèsme for his offences, procla him a traitor, and seizes his castles, iii. 331, 332.
Robert Curthose besieges Vignats, iii. 333.
Henry I. besieges Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury. On their surrender Robert de Belèsme retires to Normandy, iii. 334—337.
His excesses there, iii. 338, *et seq.*
Death of Walter Giffard and Ralph de Conches, iii. 342.
1102 ? Ives de Grantmesnil dies as he is returning from the East, iii. 330.
Ramla taken by the Saracens, iii. 301—304.
1103. June. Fulcher, Lambard's brother, is made bishop of Lisieux, iii. 287.
Robert Curthose crosses over to England at the instance of William de Warrenne. He is ill received, and hastens back to Normandy, iii. 325—327.
The nunnery of Almenèches burnt in Duke Robert's expedition against Robert de Belèsme, who routs his army, iii. 340, 341. The duke makes peace with Robert, iii. 349.
Disputes respecting the succession to William de Breteuil, iii. 344, 347, 348.
Ralph de Conches, and several other Norman lords, become adherents of Henry I., iii. 355.
Death of Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, iii. 342.
Death of the Duchess Sibylla, iii. 343.
Death of Gundulf, bishop of Rochester. He is succeeded by Ralph d'Escures, iii. 349.
Death of Magnus Barfod during his expedition in Ireland, iii. 349, 351.
Siege of Chambli by Louis le Gros, iii. 427.
Adelaide, mother of Roger II., count of Sicily, invites Robert of Burgundy to be the guardian of her young son, iv. 134, 135.
1104. Jan. Death of Fulcher, bishop of Lisieux, iii. 287.
1104—1106. Flambard usurps the see under his son's name, iii. 287.
1104. Henry I. crosses over to Normandy, and makes a progress. He has a meeting with his brother Robert, when they parted in peace, iii. 356—358.
Bohemond is liberated by the Saracens, iii. 320.
1105. April 3. Death, at Winchester, of Fulk, abbot of St. Pierre-sur-Dive, iii. 207, 368.
Henry I. goes to Normandy in consequence of the arrest of Robert Fitz-Hamon and some of his other adherents, iii. 359.
April 8. He spends Easter at Carentan, near Harfleur, where Serlo, bishop of Séez, preaches a sermon on the state of the country and the vices and fashions of the age, iii. 360—363.
After Easter. He sends envoys to Philip of France, and summons Geoffrey Martel, iii. 364.
Robert d'Estoteville is killed at Maromme after a singular omen, iii. 367, 368.
May. An epidemical disease in France, iii. 369.

A.D.
1105. Bayeux is besieged and burnt, iii. 371. Caen surrenders to Henry I., iii. 372.
About June 1. Henry I. and Robert Curthose have a meeting at Cinteaux, iii. 373.
Rotrou, count of Morlaix (Perche) goes into Spain to the aid of Alfonso I., king of Navarre and Arragon, iv. 109.
Hostilities between Rotrou and Robert de Belèsme, iv. 109, 110.
1106. Feb. A comet appears. ii. 223; iii. 365.
June 16. Dedication of the abbey of Fécamp, iii. 412.
Robert, abbot of St. Pierre-sur-Dive, undertakes to betray King Henry, iii. 373, 374.
(Sept. 28.) Battle of Tinchebrai. Robert Curthose is defeated and taken prisoner, with William, count of Mortain, and other lords. Submission of Normandy to Henry I., i. 154; iii. 376—382.
October. Henry presides at a meeting of prelates and barons at Lisieux, iii. 382, 383.
Robert de Belèsme, by the advice of Elias, count of Maine, submits to King Henry, iii. 383—385.
William de Paci, who had bought the bishopric of Lisieux, is condemned for simony, iii. 287, 288.
Arnold de Maule is a great benefactor to the priory there, ii. 221—225.
1106 (about). Henry I. gives the county of Mortain to Stephen de Blois, iii. 346.
1106. Geoffrey Martel dies at the siege of Candé, iii. 369.
Bohemond visits France, where he marries Constance, daughter of Philip I., ii. 223; iii. 6, 365—367.
Aug. 7. Death of the Emperor Henry IV., i. 154; iii. 373. Accession of his son Henry V., iii. 373.
1107. Jan. Death of Robert, abbot of Caen, at a meeting of barons and prelates convoked by the king at Falaise, iii. 412.
March. A synod at Lisieux, iii. 412.
March 26. Death of William de Ros, abbot of Fécamp, iii. 413. His successor, Roger d'Argences, is consecrated on the 21st of December following, iii. 414.
John, archdeacon of Seéz, is appointed bishop of Lisieux, iii. 416.
Death of Richard de Reviers and Roger Bigod, iii. 418.
Death of Maurice, bishop of London. He is succeeded by Richard de Beauvais, iii. 417.
April 14. Paschal II. celebrates the feast of Easter at Chartres, iii. 345.
Robert de Montfort departs for the East, having received great honours from Bohemond, iii. 387—390.
October. Bohemond besieges Durazzo, iii. 388.
Dec. 21. Ordericus Vitalis is ordained priest at Rouen by William Bonne-Ame, the archbishop, iii. 415; iv. 224.
1108. At the synod held at Rouen, the bishop of Coutances relates a miracle which had occurred in a church there, iii. 6—8.
Foundation of the priory of Noyon-sur-Andelle, iii. 419—423.
July 29. Death of King Philip I. of France, i. 154; ii. 168; iii. 424.

A.D.
1108. Louis le Gros succeeds him, ii. 168; iii. 424.
Bohemond concludes a treaty with the Greek emperor, iii. 390.
1109. April 21. Death of St. Anselm, i. 154; ii. 117; iii. 435, 436.
Ralph d'Escures succeeds him, iii. 437.
Dec. 17 (Nov. 16, according to Ordericus). Death of Ingulf, abbot of Croyland. He is succeeded by Geoffrey, ii. 101.
Death of Hugh, abbot of Cluni, who is succeeded by Pons, i. 154; iii. 436.
Elias, count of Maine, marries Agnes of Poitiers, iii. 276.
Ravages of erysipelas, and a severe famine, i. 154; iii. 434.
1109—1111. Famine in France, iii. 434, 438.
1110. Appearance of a comet, iii. 438.
Death of William Bonne-Ame, archbishop of Rouen, i. 154; iii. 435, 437, 438.
Elias, count of Maine, gives his daughter in marriage to Fulk, count of Anjou, iii. 276.
His death, iii. 276, 438.
1110 (about). Foundation of the abbey of Tiron, iii. 50, 51.
August. Henry V. attacks Milan, and ravages Lombardy, iii. 198.
1111. Geoffrey, the Breton, is made archbishop of Rouen, iii. 435, 438.
Louis le Gros besieges the castle of Puiset, iii. 428. Again, iii. 441.
Robert de Beauchamp, the viscount, attempts to arrest William, the young heir of Normandy, who escapes, iii. 430.
Expedition of Louis le Gros against Theobald, count of Blois and Chartres, iii. 429, 441—443.
Henry V. invests Rome, arrests Pope Paschal in St. Peters, and is driven out of the city, iii. 196, 438. The pope is liberated, iii. 197.
Hostilities between Alfonso I., king of Navarre and Arragon, and his wife Urraque, queen of Léon and Castile, iv. 119, 120.
Death of Bohemond, iii. 390, 391.
1111 or 1112. The first war between Fulk, count of Anjou, and Henry I., iii. 441—443.
1112. Robert de Belèsme imprisoned for life, iii. 442.
The abbey of Savigni founded, iii. 51, 52.
Death of Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, iii. 438, 439. Succeeded by Ouen, iii. 439.
William Pantulf grants Trotton in England, and other possessions, to the priory of Noyon, ii. 211.
Miracles are wrought on the tomb of Waltheof at Croyland, ii. 102, 103.
March 28. In a council at Rome, Henry V. is excommunicated by the pope, iii. 197.
Accesssion of Roger, prince of Antioch, iii. 322.
1113. Feb. 2. Visit of Henry I. and his court to the abbey of St. Evroult, when the author was a monk there, iii. 439—441.
Feb. 21—28. Fulk of Anjou concludes peace with Henry I.
? March. Meeting and alliance of the kings of France and England at Gisors, iii. 444.
? May 1. Henry I. besieges the castle of Belèsme without success, iii. 445.

A.D.
1113. Adelaide, mother of Roger II., count of Sicily, poisons her son-in-law, Robert of Burgundy. She goes to Jerusalem, hoping to marry King Baldwin, who strips her of her wealth and sends her back, iv. 136, 137.
1114. Marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry I., with the Emperor Henry V., iii. 148, 434, 435.
Second expedition of Rotrou, count of Mortain, to Spain, iv. 111—113.
1115 or 1116. Mirraculous liberation of one Bricstan, of Chatteris in Ely, ii. 323—331.
1117. Dec. 24. A violent storm of wind, i. 155; iii. 446.
1118. April 18. Death of William, count of Evreux, iii. 448.
May 1. Death of Queen Matilda, iii. 448.
June 5. Death of Robert, count de Meulan (earl of Mellent), iii. 448.
Henry I. takes by surprise the castle of Saint Clair-sur-Epte. Louis le Gros fortifies Gani, ii. 226; iii. 446, 447.
Baldwin, count of Flanders, espouses the cause of William of Normandy. He is wounded in an expedition against Henry I., and dies the year following, iii. 450, 451, 475.
Fulk, count of Anjou, invades Normandy, and takes La Motte-Gautier. Henry I. cedes a frontier district to him, iii. 454, 455.
Sept. King Henry is recalled from the siege of Laigle to Rouen. Takes La Ferté-en-Brai, and burns Neubourg. iii. 457, 458.
Oct. 7. King Henry holds a council at Rouen, iii. 459, 460.
Amauri de Montfort takes arms against the king. The castle of Evreux seized for him, iii. 449, 460, 461.
Hugh de Gournai revolts in the Talou and Caux, iii. 451, 452.
Nov.—Dec. Henry I. marches to Laigle. Alençon, having revolted, is reduced by Theobald, count of Anjou, iii. 461—463.
The last moments of Ansold de Maule, ii. 229—282.
December 21. A violent storm of wind, iii. 463, 464.
Ansel de Garlande, commander of the French, killed before Puiset, iii. 428.
Gelasius II. succeeds Pope Paschal and visits France, iii. 446.
1119. Beginning of the year. Inundations of the Seine. In Lent, the river dried up, iii. 475, 476.
Jan. 29. Death of Gelasius II. He is succeeded by Calixtus, iii. 464.
Feb. Eustace de Bréteuil, Henry's son-in-law revolts. The king besieges his daughter Juliana in Bréteuil, iii. 465—467.
Reynold de Bailol, withdrawing his fealty, King Henry burns his mansion. Other garrisons remain quiet, iii. 468.
Louis le Gros seizes Andeli by surprise, iii. 469.
Henry I. fortifies Noyon, iii. 470.
In Lent. Richard Fresnel and other lords make irruptions. After Whitsuntide, Henry I. appears before his castle, which submits. Richard dies a monk at St. Evroult, iii. 470, 473.
May. William, Henry's eldest son, comes over from England, and in the month following marries at Lisieux the daughter of the count of Anjou, iii. 474.

A.D.
1119. Henry I. destroys Pont-Saint-Pierre and other castles of his enemies, and garrisons his own, ii. 473, 476.
August. Signs in the moon. Red light in the heavens for three nights, iii. 476.
Henry I. besieges and burns the city of Evreux, iii. 476, 477
Louis le Gros besieges Dangu and Chateau-Neuf-sur-Epte, iii. 479.
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1120 (about). Louis le Gros visits the priory at Maule, ii. 236.
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1122. The count of Anjou betrothes his daughter Sibylla to William of Normandy, iii. 432.
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1128. Death of Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, i. 156; iv. 103.
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July. William of Normandy, count of Flanders, is wounded at the siege of Alost. He dies on the 9th of August, i. 156; iv. 92, 93, 96. He is succeeded by Thierri of Alsace, iv. 94.
Robert Burdet is made prince of Tarragona in Spain, iv. 114—117.
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1129. The marriage of the empress Matilda with Geoffrey Plantagenet is solemnized, iv. 105, 106.
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1130. Geoffrey de Clinton charged with treason, iii. 16.
Hugh of Amiens, abbot of Reading, is made archbishop of Rouen, iv. 107.
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1131. Jan. 13. Meeting of Henry I. and Innocent II. at Chartres, iv. 128.
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Oct. 13. Death of Philip, the son of Louis le Gros, iv. 105, 129, 130.
Oct. 18. A council at Rheims, iv. 130.
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1131? Hugh, the sub-dean of Orleans, waylaid and murdered, iv. 131.
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1133. Dec. 28. A very heavy fall of snow, the houses blocked up and roads impassable. Floods succeeded, ii. 321; iv. 138, 139.
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Oct. 28. A violent storm of wind, iv. 147, 148.
Louis le Gros falls sick. He is reconciled with Theobald, count de Blois, and Ralph, count de Vermandois, and entrusts his son Louis with the government of France, iv. 148.
Nov. 25. Henry I. falls sick at the castle of Lions, iv. 149. He dies on the 1st of December, i. 157; iii. 346; iv. 150. On the 4th his

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1135. Dec. 15. King Stephen crowned. The Normans submit to his government, iv. 155.

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Dec. 25. A truce till Whitsuntide is concluded between Theobald, count de Blois, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, iv. 158.

Richard de Beaufait is consecrated bishop of Avranches, iv. 134, 145.

Richard, a son of Robert, earl of Gloucester, is made bishop of Bayeux, iv. 134, 145.

1136. Feb. Death of Eustace de Bréteuil. His son William asserts his claims by arms. King Stephen is detained in England, iv. 157.

The king betrothes his infant daughter to Waleran, count de Mellent, iv. 157.

After March 22. The count of Anjou returns to Normandy. Hostilities between Roger de Toeni and the earl of Leicester, iv. 157.

May. Roger de Toeni surprises Vaudreuil. He is driven out by the count de Mellent, who burns Acquigni on the 11th of May. The next day Roger makes fearful reprisals, iv. 157, 158.

May 18. Robert Bouet plunders the burghers of St. Evroult, who capture and hang him. The garrison of Laigle reduce the burgh to ashes. The abbey escapes, iv. 158—160.

King Stephen is again prevented from going over to Normandy by a report of the death of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, iv. 161.

May? Gilbert de Clare attacks Exmes, iv. 161.

June. The count de Blois, with the earls of Mellent and Leicester, ravage the lands of Roger de Toeni, iv. 162.

The same day, Richer de Laigle was routed in a skirmish, iv. 162.

June 24. Boso, abbot of Bec, dies, and is succeeded by Theobald the prior, iv. 163.

June 25. Ralph, archdeacon of Evreux, is attacked by the sons of Simon Harenc, iv. 163.

June and July. Theobald, count de Blois, besieges Pont-Saint-Pierre, iv. 162, 163.

Sept., third week. A great fire at Rouen; the abbey of St. Ouen burnt, iv. 163, 164.

Sept. 21. Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Angevins make an irruption into Normandy. They are repulsed before Montreuil, Lisieux, and Sap. Geoffrey is wounded, and on the 2nd of October the Angevins retreat, iv. 164—169.

Sept. and Oct. Roger de Conches ravages the diocese of Lisieux. He pillages the abbey of Croix-Saint-Leufroi, and burns the church of Saint Stephen at Vauvai. He is taken prisoner, iv. 170, 171.

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1137. About March 15. King Stephen lands at La Hogue, iv. 175.
April 9. Death of William, duke of Aquitaine, iv. 175.
May. King Stephen has a meeting with Louis le Gros. He besieges Lillebonne, Villers, and Mésidon, iv. 175.
May. Geoffrey Plantagenet ravages the Hiémois, burns Basoches, and exacts a ransom from the monks of Dive and Fécamp. He fails before Caen, iv. 175, 176.
May. Stephen liberates Roger de Conches, and draws to his cause Rotrou, count of Perche, and Richer de Laigle, iv. 177.
June. Stephen assembles his forces at Lisieux, but divisions breaking out among them, he concludes a truce for two years, iv. 178.
June 21. Death of Warin, abbot of St. Evroult. Richard of Leicester succeeds him, iv. 179, 180.
July and August. Excessive heats and pestilential diseases, iv. 181.
Aug. 4 (the 1st according to the French authors). Death of Louis le Gros. His son, Louis le Jeune, is crowned (?) at Poictiers on the 8th of August, iv. 181, 182.
About August. King Stephen marches against Roger le Bègé, lord of Grosseuvre, iv. 182. He destroys the castle of Quitri in the Vexin, iv. 182.
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The ravages and death of Gelduin of Dol, iv. 183, 184.
Dec. King Stephen returns to England, iv. 185.
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Dec. 25. He lays siege to Bedford, iv. 195, and takes it at the end of five weeks, iv. 196.
Louis le Jeune is crowned at Bourges, iv. 194.
The emperor Lothaire undertakes an expedition into Apulia, iv. 195. He dies suddenly while on his way back, i. 158.
Death of Pons, count of Tripoli, iv. 186.
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1138. Jan. 25. Death of the antipope Anaclete, i. 158; iv. 194.
(About the beginning of the year.) Wars in the Cotentin, in which Roger the Viscount was slain, iv. 196.
Jan. Simon the Red ravages the territories of the earl of Leicester in the diocese of Evreux. Pont-Échanfré and Montreuil are burnt, iv. 197.
Feb. There is a report of the death of Roger, duke of Apulia, iv. 195.
March. Ralph d'Esson is made prisoner by the partisans of the empress, iv. 197.
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May. Waleran, earl of Mellent, and William d'Ypres, come to Normandy and attack Roger de Conches, iv. 193.

1138. June. Geoffrey Plantagenet enters Normandy in arms, and draws to his side Robert, earl of Gloucester, through whom Bayeux and Caen submit to him, iv. 199.

July. Ralph de Péronne joins the Earl of Mellent and William d'Ypres. Geoffrey Plantagenet quits Normandy, iv. 199.

July. Geoffrey Talbot, William de Mohun, William Peverel, William Fitz-John, and other partisans of the earl of Gloucester in England, take arms against Stephen, and fortify their castles, iv. 200—202.

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King Stephen besieges Hereford, iv. 203. The Queen besieges Dover, iv. 203.

Shrewsbury is surrendered to Stephen, iv. 294. The cruel punishment of Arnulph d'Hesdin, iv. 204.

Aug. 22. Battle of the Standard, iv. 205.

Sept. 7. Roger de Toeni reduces to ashes the town of Bréteuil, iv. 206. He is reconciled with the earls of Leicester and Mellent, and King Stephen, iv. 206.

October. Geoffrey Plantagenet besieges Falaise, and is repulsed, iv. 206.

November. He occupies Touque, but, surprised by a sally of the garrison of Bonneville, flies to Argentan, iv. 207.

Theobald, abbot of Bec, is preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury, iv. 208.

Anselm, nephew of St. Anselm, is elected bishop of London in place of Gilbert the Universal, iv. 173.

The Emperor John Comnenus sits down before Antioch. He receives the homage of Raymond de Poitiers, who had married Constance, the heiress to the principality, iv. 191—194.

1139. Jan. 21. Death of Thurstan, archbishop of York, iv. 209.

April. A council at Rome, iv. 208.

King Stephen arrests the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln; the bishop of Ely escapes. The castle of Devizes given up to the king, iv. 209—211.

In the autumn. The Countess Matilda, with her brother, Earl Robert, land at Arundel. They proceed to Bristol Castle, where the earl entertains his sister, iv. 212.

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1140. Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, proposes in the king's council, his nephew, Henry de Sulli (abbot of Fécamp), for the vacant see of Salisbury, and being in a minority, leaves the court, iv. 218.

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Sept. 8. Richard de Laigle is taken at Lire by Robert de Belèsme, iv. 220.

Nov. 6. Ralph, or Ranulph, prior of Noyon, iii. 420, the abbot-elect of St. Evroult, having been to England and received investiture from King Stephen, is consecrated on his return by the bishop of Lisieux, iv. 214.

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Richard II., duke of Normandy, son of Richard I., 145, 146, 150, 375, 382, 400; ii. 404; iii. 73, 412; iv. 248; aids King Robert at the siege of Mélun, ii. 345; grants the bishopric of Séez to William de Belèsme iii. 24; rebuilds Fontenelles, i. 381; ii. 161; augments and endows Fécamp, St. Ouen, and St. Michael-on-the-Sea, 66, 160, 161, 401, 412; his government and character, ii. 160, 161; marries Papa, 162; Dudo de St. Quentin dedicates his work to him, ii. 298. His sons, Dukes Richard III., and Robert the Magnificent.

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Richard, son of count Reginald of Apulia, a crusader, follows Bohemond, iii. 83.

Richard de Reviers, a loyal partisan and counsellor of Henry I., ii. 498; iii. 270, 282; his death, 418.

Richard, natural son of Robert Curthose, iii. 259; killed by accident in the New Forest, 260.

Richard II., abbot of St. Evroult in 1188, iv. 257.

Richard, a novice and monk of St. Evroult, i. 388; a good copyist, 406; ii. 107.

Richard de St. Scholasse, i. 400.

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Richard Silvanus, or Forester, has a stronghold at St. Pois in the Avranches, iv. 182, 183, and *note*; ravages the country after the death of Henry I., 188; his vill burnt, and he is slain in a skirmish, *ibid.*

Richard Tescelin, abbot of St. Evroult in 1320, iv. 264, 265.

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Richard, abbot of Verdun, i. 422.
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Richer, the monk, relates a miracle of St. Judoc, i. 475.
Riculfus, archbishop of Rouen, ii. 156; iv. 245.
Riculfus, an old country priest, becomes a monk of St. Evroult, i. 388.
Richer, the priest of Laigle, prays for the soul of Robert Bouet, iv.
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Robec, a rivulet running into the Seine, ii. 139.
Robert, son of Amauri, governor of Plessis, iii. 453.
Robert Andrew, an excellent scribe, ii. 204.
Robert d'Anzi, a crusader, iii. 83.
Robert l'Apostole, abbot of St. Evroult in 1438, iv. 267.
Robert de Beauchamp, viscount of Arques, attempts to seize the young heir of Normandy, by order of Henry I., iii. 430; sequesters the castle of Saint-Saens, belonging to his governor Elias, 431; in 1137, the sons of Robert Beauchamp refuse to surrender Bedford castle to King Stephen, iv., 195, 196.
Robert de Beaumont, ii. 163; iii. 33.
Robert de Beauvais, i. 472.
Robert I. de Belèsme, i. 393, 405; murdered by the sons of Walter Sor, iv. 110.
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Robert Bloet, chaplain of William the Conqueror, made bishop of Lincoln, iii. 201.
Robert de Bostare, preferred from low estate by Henry I., iii. 328.
Robert Bouet, archer of Richer de Laigle, pillages the lands of St. Evroult, iv. 158; is hanged by the burghers, 159; the priest of Laigle prays for his soul, 160.
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Robert, son of Robert I., duke of Burgundy, ii. 347; iv. 134, 135, 136.
Robert, son of Henry duke of Burgundy, bishop of Langres, iv. 135.
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Robert, abbot of Caen, iii. 412.
Robert Champart, archbishop of Canterbury, i. 459.
Robert II. (*not* Richard), prince of Capua, iv. 138.
Robert de Chandos, governor of Gisors for Henry I. in 1123, iv. 69; escapes an ambush laid for him, and burns the bourg, 70.
Robert, bishop of Chartres, ii. 206.
Robert, son of Hugh earl of Chester, monk of St. Ervoult, ii. 257; abbot of St. Edmond's, iii. 269.
Robert de Cordai goes to Apulia, ii. 209.
Robert Cornard, jester in the court of William Rufus, ii. 477.
Robert de Courbépine, father of Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, ii. 128.
Robert de Courci, son of Baudri the Teutonic i. 427.
Robert de Courci, son of Richard, ii. 505; wounded in an expedition against the Manceaux, iii. 221; resists the bands of freebooters, 333.
Robert de Courci, the younger; his gallantry at the battle of Brémule, 486; is made prisoner, 486; takes the side of King Stephen, iv. 199.
Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, i. 441; ii. 8, 22, 107, 168, 348; an alliance for him proposed with Margaret, the heiress of Maine, i. 448; ii. 74, 77, 481; in 1067, joined with Matilda in the government of Normandy during his father's absence, 14—22; about 1077, is present at the consecration of several Norman churches, 116; does homage for Maine to the count of Anjou, 77; his quarrels and hostilities with his father, 107, 190, 182; iii. 259; was at the court of France at the Conqueror's death, ii. 402; succeeds to the duchy of Normandy, 414; cedes the Cotentin to his brother Henry, 431; proposal for making him king of England, 432—434; his administration of the duchy and relations with his brothers William Rufus and Henry, 450—456, 460, 462, 474—476, 484, 485, 488—492, 494, 495, 498—502, 510, 520, 521; iii. 9, 10, 24, 28; in 1096, he mortgages the duchy to William Rufus, 73, 80, 205; goes to the crusade; his exploits, 73, 82, 90, 95, 99, 101, 122, 136, 139, 159, 160, 166, 184—186, 190, 205, 206, 251; returns from the crusade, 251; iv. 108, 109; iii. 252, 255, 256; marries Sibylla de Conversana, 256; her dowry enables him to redeem his duchy, 257; returns to Normandy in 1100 (the month after the death of William Rufus), 272; his relations with Henry I., and events during his government, 254, 265, 274—279, 282—286, 333, 340—344, 347, 349, 356—358, 361, 373; he is defeated and made prisoner at Tinchibrai, i. 154, 260, 380, 381; iv. 26, 86, 252; conducted to Rouen, iii. 282; sent to England and imprisoned, 386, 430; iv. 26; complaints made of his treatment by Louis le Gros at the council of Rheims, 5; Henry I. justifies his conduct to the pope at Gisors, 23—26; while in prison at Devizes, Robert learns in a dream his son's death, 96; he dies in Cardiff castle, and is buried at Gloucester, 96, 122, 123, 254; a prophecy of Merlin applied to him, 102; his person described, ii. 108; his character, ii. 108, 412, 413, 427, 428; iii. 272; his profuse liberality, 428;

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Robert de Comines? (*de Cuminis*) has the county of Durham from William the Conqueror, ii. 21; is slain by the people, 21, 413.
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Robert III. d'Estoteville, is made prisoner at Dive, iii. 374; his release, 379.
Robert, chaplain of Robert II. d'Estoteville, relates the story of his lord to Ordericus, iii. 368.
Robert, count d'Eu, one of the Conqueror's followers, i. 462; ii. 121, 474; iii. 72; is at the battle of Mortemer, i. 152; ii. 408; his large domains in England, 50; defeats the Danes in Lindsey, 27.
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Robert, earl of Flanders, surnamed the Frisian, i. 430; ii. 59, 61, 347, 410; iv. 94.
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Robert Fresnel sells to the abbey of St. Evroult the church of Notre-Dame-du-Bois, i. 399.
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Robert Giffard goes to Apulia, iii. 56; is at the siege of Durazzo, ii. 358.
Robert Fitz-Girard, Bohemond's standard-bearer, iii. 114.
Robert, son of Giroie, i. 390, 393, 394, 395; restores the monastery of St. Evroult, 386—400; his death by poison, 424, 425.
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Robert, son of Giroie, allows William Rufus to garrison his castle of Echoufour, iv. 197.
Robert, earl of Gloucester, called Robert de Caen, natural son of Henry I., iii. 440; is at the battle of Brémule, 482; at the siege of Montfort, iv. 61; Henry leaves him 60,000 livres, 149; present at the king's death, 150; suspected of favouring the count of Anjou, 176; comes to England with King Stephen, 184; inclines to the earl of Anjou, and influences Bayeux and Caen to acknowledge him, 191 ; holds the castle of Caen, 199, 200; his castles and power in England, 200, 201; William Fitz-Alan, viscount of Shrewsbury, married

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Robert de Grentemesnil, i. 386, 395, 396; dies of wounds received in an engagement with Robert de Beaumont, 150, 401.

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Robert de Grentemesnil, son of Hugh, iii. 56, 248, 333, 376.

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Robert, father of Warin abbot of St. Evroult, iv. 179.

Robert Guiscard, son of Tancred de Hauteville; his conquests in Apulia, i. 209, 395, 412, 437, 438, 446; ii. 162, 163; wars with the emperor Alexius on behalf of Michael Parapinaces, ii. 10, 222, 354, 356; siege of Durazzo, 358—360; expedition to Rome in support of Gregory, vii. 360—364; returns to Illyria, 365; occupies Durazzo, 366; he is poisoned (Ordericus states) by his wife Sichelgade, 366—371.

Robert Hatchet, a freebooter, iii. 453.

Robert de la Haie; Henry I. addresses letters patent to him and others, iv. 56.

Robert Fitz-Hamon is loyal to William Rufus, ii. 437; the king grants him the domains of the late Queen Matilda, 498; he founds Tewksbury abbey, 250; serves in Normandy under Henry I., iii. 356; is taken prisoner, 359, and *note*; released, 371; his wife Sibylla de Montgomeri, ii. 195.

Robert de Harcourt, *see* William de.

Robert de Harcourt, bishop of Coutances, iv. 262.

Robert, bishop of Hereford, ii. 466.

Robert the Heretic, ii. 208.

Robert, abbot of Jumièges, i. 387, 388; ii. 66.

Robert, the son of Albert de Laci, joins the league for raising Robert Curthose to the throne, iii. 277, 278.

Robert earl of Leicester, son of Robert earl of Mellent (count de Meulan), ii. 192; iii. 331, 348; brought up in the court of Henry I., iv. 58; continues loyal to him, iii. 474; is at his death, iv. 150; in arms against Roger de Toeni, 157, 158, 162; his lands ravaged, 197; peace with Roger restored, 206; assaults the bishops at Oxford, 210; concludes a truce for his estates in Normandy, 220, 221; his wife Amicia, daughter of Ralph de Guader, ii. 192; iii. 32, 33; iv. 59.

Robert de Limesi, bishop of Lichfield, ii. 447; iv. 49.

Robert, son of Aubrey de Lincoln, holds Wareham Castle against King Stephen, iv. 201.

Robert the Magnificent, duke of Normandy, i. 381, 383, 391, 393,

394, 411, 419, 448; ii. 129, 130; iii. 73, 443; his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, i. 148, 322; ii. 161, 382; supports Henry I. of France, i. 148; ii. 399; who cedes the Vexin to him, 399; he founds the abbey of Cérisi, 382; dies at Nice, i. 148, 382; ii. 400; is surnamed the Jerusalemite, iii. 73.

Robert Malet, proceedings of Henry I. against, to forfeiture and banishment, iii. 325, 329.

Robert of Malpas; his severities on the Welsh, ii. 47.

Robert, Manconduit, lost in the *Blanche-Nef*, iv. 41.

Robert de Maule goes to the crusade, iii. 367.

Robert de Médavi, iv. 169.

Robert, count de Mortain, earl of Leicester (called also earl of Mellent in England), i. 489; ii. 34; is at the battle of Hastings, i. 484; in the reign of William Rufus, and in his councils, 488—491; iii. 72, 209, 234, 235; after the death of William Rufus attends Henry I. to London, 267; is one of his ministers of state, 270; his acts and counsels in Henry's reign, 272, 279, 283, 284, 329, 330, 347, 348, 356, 362, 376, 379, 420, 440; his death, 443, 448.

Robert, son of Baldwin de Meules, ii. 488, 490—492.

Robert, son of Murdac, ii. 258, and *note*.

Robert, abbot of Molême, iii. 40, &c; he founds the abbey of Cîteaux, 45, &c.

Robert de Mowbrai, earl of Northumberland, nephew of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, ii. 50; inherits of the bishop 280 manors, ii. 50; iii. 17; takes the side of Robert Curthose, ii. 173; of William Rufus, 436, 498; disloyally kills Malcolm, king of Scots, iii. 11; plunders some Norwegian merchants, iii. 18; revolts against William Rufus, ii. 380; iii. 18; he is imprisoned during thirty-four years, 20; his person and character described, iii. 17, 18.

Robert de Montfort, iii. 334, 241, 331, 356; at the battle of Tinchibrai, 376; charged with treason against Henry I., he joins the crusade, 387; serves with Bohemond, betrays him, 388, 389; his death, 390; called *princeps militiæ*, 241, and *strator Normannici exercitus hereditario jure*, 388.

Robert, count de Mortain (called in England earl of Morton), i. 462; ii. 416; has large domains in England, 50; repels the Danes in Lindsey, 27; is with William the Conqueror in his last hours, 415, 416; holds Pevensey castle, iii. 205; surrenders it to William Rufus, *ibid.*; his chaplain, Vitalis, founder of Savigni; his wife Matilda de Montgomeri.

Robert du Neuborg, earl of Warwick, iii. 34; revolts against Henry I., 450, 458; makes his peace, iv. 20; espouses the cause of Geoffrey Plantagenet, iv. 165.

Robert de Neuville garrisons Bridgnorth, iii. 334; surrenders it to Henry I., 336.

Robert Nicholas, monk of St. Evroult, superintends the new buildings, ii. 259.

Robert, son of William Pantulf, ii. 211, 397.

Robert de Paris censures Paschal II., iii. 197.

Robert, son of Hugh Paganus, ii. 233.

Robert Pecceth, bishop of Coventry, iv. 49.

Robert de Pontefract, son of Ilbert de Laci, iii. 325, 329.

Robert de Prunelai, his history and character, iii. 421, 422; monk of St. Evroult, ii. 523; iv. 50; prior of Noyon, iv. 421; abbot of Thor-

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Robert Quarrel, castellan of St. Céneri, ii. 456, 459.
Robert de Rhuddlan, ii. 257, 258; son of Umfrid, an Anglo-Dane, by the sister of Hugh de Grentemesnil, 443; an esquire in the household of, and knighted by, Edward the Confessor, ii. 443, 444; visits his kindred in Normandy, 444; returns to England with Hugh d'Avranches, and has under him the government of his earldom of Chester, 444; builds the castle of Rhuddlan, and curbs the Welsh, 444, 445; builds the castle of Diganwy, 445; joins the league against William Rufus in 1088, 434; his cruelties to the Welsh, 445; returns to Wales from the siege of Rochester, 442; account of the descent of Gryffyth-ap-Conan, in resisting which Robert fell, 445—447, and *notes*; he is buried in St. Werburgh's, at Chester, 447; his remains removed to St. Evroult by his brother, a monk of that house, 447; his benefactions to it, 258, 443, 444; his person and character, 443, 445; his epitaph, composed by Ordericus, 448, 449.
Robert Fitz-Richard, governor of York, massacred, ii. 21, 22,
Robert de Roia, bishop of Evreux in 1200, iv. 258.
Robert de Romilli, witness of a charter of Ralph de Conches, ii. 189.
Robert I., archbishop of Rouen, son of Richard I. duke of Normandy, i. 146; ii. 160; iii. 433; count of Evreux, ii. 160; iii. 433; receives the present of an illuminated psalter from Queen Emma, i. 401, 402; rebuilds Rouen cathedral, ii. 160, 167; his wife Harleva and sons, 160.
Robert II., archbishop of Rouen in i. 123, iv. 259.
Robert de Sablé, son of Lisaird lord of Gacé, iv. 156.
Robert de St. Céneri, *see* Robert Giroie.
Robert II., abbot of St. Evroult, before a monk of Bec, iv. 256.
Robert, abbot of Dive, before a monk of St. Denys, gives the duke 140 marks for the preferment, iii. 368; the monks disperse, he fortifies the abbey, 309; lays a plot to capture Henry I., 373, 374; he is disgraced and banished, 375; becomes prior of Argenteuil, and is killed by a peasant, 375.
Robert, son of Herbran de Sauqueville, ii. 268; leaves the *Blanche-Nef*, and escapes the shipwreck, iv. 42.
Robert of the Seal, a clerk in the chancery of Henry I., iv. 151.
Robert, abbot of Séez, ii. 208; is at the Conqueror's funeral, 420; his death, 464.
Robert, bishop of Séez, in the sixth century, ii. 244.
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Robert, monk of Séez, a superior copyist, iii. 245.
Robert de Sourdeval, a crusader, iii. 83.
Robert le Tellier, monk of Bec, prior of St. Imer, abbot of St. Evroult, iv. 267.
Robert de Tombelaine, an able writer, made abbot of St. Victor, ii. 429; iii. 35; retires to Rome 36; ii. 429.
Robert, count de Troyes, ii. 341.
Robert, son of Turstan, a crusader, iii. 83.
Robert d'Ussi killed at the siege of Saint-Suzanne, ii. 379.
Robert de Vaux, a benefactor to St. Evroult, ii. 190.

Robert de Vieux-Pont, sent to reinforce John de la Flèche, ii. 76; killed at the siege of Saint-Suzanne, ii. 379.
Robert de Vieux-Pont, at the crusade, iii. 392.
Robert the Viscount, ii. 270.
Robert de Vere, a clerk of the seal to Henry I., iv. 151.
Robert de Vermandois, count of Châlons and Beaune, i. 139.
Robert de Vitot, banished for assassinating count Gilbert, i. 449; restored, and dies of a wound, 450.
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Roger de Barneville, a crusader at the siege of Nice, iii. 95; scales the walls of Antioch, 123; his death, 131.
Roger of Bayeux, or Argences, abbot of Fécamp, iii. 414, 415, 459; iv. 105.
Roger de Beaumont, i. 384, 401, 462; ii. 45, 178, 182, 488—492; becomes a monk at Préaux, iii. 33; his death, 34. His sons, Robert earl of Mellent, and Henry earl of Warwick.
Roger le Bègue, iv. 170, 171; lord of Grossœuvre, 182.
Roger de Bienfaite, or Fitz-Richard, ii. 173, 493; iii. 205; is at the battle of Brémule, 481, 482; his gallantry, 484; attends the Empress Matilda to Germany, 485.
Roger Bigod, one of the chief counsellors of Henry I., iii. 270; his death, and burial in the church at Thetford which he founded, 418; his epitaph, *ibid.*
Roger la Bourse, duke of Apulia, son of Robert Griscard, ii. 356, 464; iii. 82, 256.
Roger de Bréteuil, earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz-Osberne, ii. 60, 78, 82, 190, 415.
Roger de Bulli has the castle of Blyth, iii. 34, 220, 221, 232.
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Roger, son of Corbet, garrisons Bridgnorth, iii. 334; surrenders it to the king, 386.
Roger, bishop of Coutances, iii. 459, iv. 36.
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Roger de Glos, ii. 228, 517; iii. 491.
Roger of Gloucester, falls in a joust at Falaise, iii. 372.
Roger de Hauterive, monk of St. Evroult, prior of Parnes, i. 469, 470, 472.
Roger d'Ivri, butler to the king, is governor of Rouen castle, ii. 109; his lands ravaged, 398; founds the abbey of Ivri, iii. 23; marries Adeline de Grentemesnil, ii. 506.
Roger de Jumièges, a skilful copyist, and monk of St. Evroult, i. 413.
Roger de Laci is banished from England, iii. 21, and *note;* in the councils of Robert Curthose,

iv. 25; commands his troops, ii. 340.
Roger de Laigle, son of Engenulf, buried at St. Evroult, i. 427.
Roger, abbot of Lessai, i. 453.
Roger, bishop of Lisieux, i. 392.
Roger, brother of Herbert de Lisieux, defends the tower of Vatteville, iv. 72.
Roger, prior of Maule, ii. 219.
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Roger, abbot of Mount-St.-Michael, ii. 420.
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